The Formation of Taiwanese Classical Theatre, 1895-1937

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Abstract

In this dissertation, I argue that Taiwanese classical theatre was formed during 1895 to 1937, the Japanese colonial period before the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945). My argument is that Taiwanese classical theatre was formed through concept construction, the modernization of content, the emergence of new genres and the Taiwanization of language and themes.

Japanese colonization launched modernization in Taiwan, which in turn brought about theatrical modernization. Japanese researchers introduced modern approaches to studying classical theatre in Taiwan, and therefore established a modern systemic approach to it. Based on this, the concept of "Taiwanese classical theatre" was constructed.

Modernization further formed the contents of Taiwanese classical theatre. The Japanese introduced modern media to Taiwan. Meanwhile, the achievements of theatre reform and the realist aesthetic were introduced from Japan and China. Classical theatre troupes in Taiwan took advantage of modern media and learnt modern theatrical style. This in turn resulted in the emergence of a new genre, Taiwanese reformed theatre/Taiwanese opera.

Realist aesthetics performed by Japanese and Chinese troupes further stimulated Taiwanese audiences to call for realism within a Taiwanese context. Classical theatre troupes in Taiwan responded to the demand, beginning a process of Taiwanization in language and themes. Taiwanese reformed theatre/Taiwanese opera was the last stage in the linguistic Taiwanization of classical theatre. It reflected concurrent and realistic

language of Taiwanese people in daily life. Thereafter, classical theatre troupes, especially those of Taiwanese reformed theatre/Taiwanese opera, began to compose plays with Taiwanese themes. These plays reflected Taiwanese environment, history, society, customs, and so on, and showed modern characteristics as well. Taiwanization in themes was the final step; through it, the formation of Taiwanese classical theatre was completed.

The formation of Taiwanese classical theatre is a mirror of newly-shaped Taiwanese culture in the colonial period and is also a crucial transition between traditional theatre and modern theatre in Taiwan.

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Preface

After my dearest grandfather, Ngôo (Wu) Bīng-Tin, left us, I suddenly found that I knew too little about his past, just as I knew too little about my homeland's history. My experience in fact reflects the experiences of the colonized in Taiwan. Our education prevented us Taiwanese to know Taiwanese history, including the Japanese colonial period. The education instilled into us an anti-Japanese sentiment. However, there is a huge gap between our education and our personal life experiences. My grandfather, who received higher education in the Japanese period, was broadly respected by our family, peers, and people in our hometown. He is not a particular case. Taiwanese elders who had a Japanese education are usually admired and respected in Taiwanese society. Native Taiwanese admire the Japanese characteristics reflected by them, such as abiding by the law, punctuality, being methodical, and having a rational, scientific way of thinking, good physical training, and so on. Meanwhile, their fondness for baseball, Japanese enka, sumo, and on the like, was handed down to younger generations. With regret and shame, I knew little about the past of my elders as well as my motherland when I began my study of the Japanese period. I hoped that by tracing this history, I can get closer to my grandfather's early life, touch the past of my motherland and find my roots.

This thesis was finally completed during the sunflower student movement in Taiwan. The movement is a reaction against a dictatorial government and national violence. Although democratization in Taiwan has proceeded around 20 to 30 years, the previous autocratic KMT party remains in place and still intends to control people and the country by authoritarian means. Many of their methods of rule are similar to the previous colonizers and sometimes are even more crude and violent. After tracing the

Japanese colonial history, returning to my own period, I find that Taiwan is now ruled by another colonizer. We still have yet to decolonize. Just in the last year, this current colonizer still intends to twist Taiwanese history by distorting the senior high school history curriculum. My study reminds me that decolonization in Taiwan is in the present progressive tense, instead of the present perfect tense. Therefore, to me, studying Taiwan's colonial history is also necessary for de-colonization, which is a vast and arduous task for Taiwanese. To us Taiwanese, striving for further democracy and full liberty is a continuing struggle.

A Note on Romanization

In this dissertation, four transcription systems will be used. In general, Chinese sources, proper nouns and terms will be transcribed in the Chinese Phonetic Alphabet (*Hanyu pinyin* 漢語拼音).

If a source, a proper noun or a term mainly appeared or was often used during the Japanese colonial period, there will be different phonetic transcriptions according to users. If a proper noun or a term was mainly used by people in Taiwan, the phonetic transcription will be the Taiwan Romanization Phonetic Alphabet (臺灣閩南語羅馬字拼音方案). If a term was mainly used by the *Hakka* people, the phonetic transcription will be the Hakka Phonetic Symbols (臺灣客家語拼音方案). If a proper noun or a term was created by Japanese writers or mainly appeared in Japanese sources, its phonetic transcription will be in the Japanese *Romaji.* If a term was spoken in both the Japanese and Taiwanese language, the phonetic transcription will be shown in both the Japanese *Romaji* and the Taiwan Romanization Phonetic Alphabet.

Chapter One

Introduction

This dissertation will study the formation of Taiwanese classical theatre from 1895 to 1937, the Japanese colonial period before the Second Sino-Japanese War of 1937-1945. “Taiwanese classical theatre” refers to the theatrical forms which were for the first time defined as “belonging to Taiwan” during the Japanese colonial period. It includes forms which spread to Taiwan before the Japanese colonial period or developed in Taiwan during the colonial period. In this chapter, I will firstly explain the terms Taiwanese classical theatre, Taiwanese opera and Taiwanese reformed theatre, before pointing out the importance of their emergence. Secondly, I will ask two crucial questions in the formation of Taiwanese classical theatre, Taiwaneseness and modernization. Next, I will review critically the relevant studies of Taiwanese classical theatre until now. After that, the subject, the approach and the sources of the study will be explained.

I. Time scope

The Japanese colonial period lasted from 1895 until 1945. It can be basically divided into two periods, the pre-war (1895-1937) and war (1937-1945) periods. In the pre-war period, most of the Governors-General were civilian officials. Although the colonial government carried out policies of modernization, generally speaking, the government seldom interfered in or suppressed the traditional customs and folk activities in Taiwan. Assimilation was an idea of debate, instead of a fixed or absolute policy. In terms of theatrical activities, local classical theatre was not interfered with, either. Troupes were able operate freely on a commercial basis.

During the Sino-Japanese war, the Governors-General were all military officials. Basically, the colonial government became a military government. The economy was controlled. The military had priority for resources. Speech and social activities were restrained. The media was censored. Nationals, whether male or female, including minor students, could be mobilized at anytime. Intense assimilation was launched.

In terms of theatrical activities, these were also controlled by the Government-General. Local classical theatre was forbidden because of its Chinese origin. Literary circles were mobilized. Dramatists and writers would be gathered together in order to discuss "proper" themes and scripts for theatrical activities during the war. The colonial government chose outstanding modern theatre troupes of and original local classical theater and provided scripts for them to perform. The themes were usually propaganda or Japanese stories. These troupes were a model of troupes for the whole island.

The prohibition and regulation might not have been practised thoroughly and the commercial nature might not have entirely disappeared. However, theatrical activities were after all not part of a free market as they were during the pre-war period.

In terms of the development of Taiwanese theatre, there is a need to discuss these two periods – the pre-war and war periods – separately. Because Taiwanese classical theatre was formed during the pre-war period, the scope of this dissertation is limited to the period from 1895 to 1937, and theatre during the Sino-Japanese war will not be covered.

II. The formation of Taiwanese classical theatre

1. Defining Taiwanese classical theatre

Before the Japanese colonial period, theatre in Taiwan was influenced by China and no difference was made between Chinese and Taiwanese theatrical forms, although some forms had existed on Taiwan for one or two hundred years. It was when Japanese researchers arrived during the colonial period that these kinds of theatre were studied systematically and then were all called "Taiwan no engeki" (臺灣の演劇), the literal meaning of which is "Taiwanese theatre." Theatre developed in Taiwan in this period, *kua-á-hì* 歌仔戲 (literally "songs theatre") and *cai*^{31}*ca*^{11}*hi*^{55} 採茶戲 (literally "tea-picking theatre"), were named in the same way. This definition has been deeply influential ever since. Nowadays, when we talk about "native Taiwanese classical theatre" (台灣本土戲曲), we actually follow the definition of "Taiwan no engeki," and most people, including researchers, are unaware of this. In order not to confuse this with modern theatre, the dissertation will use Taiwanese classical theatre, instead of Taiwanese theatre, to refer to the definition created during the colonial period. I use "classical theatre" (namely *xiqu* 戲曲), instead of "traditional theatre" (namely *chuantong xiqu* 傳統戲曲), because I argue that these kinds of theatre were formed in the 20th century, and therefore they were not traditional.

2. Defining Taiwanese opera and Taiwanese reformed theatre

Taiwanese opera does not mean European opera played in Taiwan. In Taiwan, this term clearly refers to *kua-a-hi* and *cai-ca-hi*. The term opera was introduced to Taiwan in the Japanese colonial period. It was written as "オペラ" in *katakana* and was translated as "歌劇" in *kanji*. Both *katakana* and *kanji* terms were adopted by *kua-a-hi* and *cai-ca-hi* troupes and native audiences. At the same time, *kua-a-hi* and

cai-ca-hi were called reformed theatre (*kái-liông-hì* 改良戲) as well. All three terms were still in use after the war, after Japanese colonization had ended. Today, "opera troupe" (*kua-kio̍k thuân* 歌劇團) is still the most common name for *kua-a-hi* and *cai-ca-hi* troupes. When they were established and became popular in the 1920s, they continued to follow the style of Chinese classical theatre to a considerable extent. Therefore, they may be called Taiwanese classical theatre as well. However, among other forms of classical theatre in Taiwan, only these two kinds were called opera or reformed theatre. Older classical theatre in Taiwan, such as *tshit-tsú-pan* 七子班 (literally "troupes of seven roles"),[1] *lān-thân* 亂彈 (literally "play freely") and *pòo-tē-hì* 布袋戲 (glove puppet theatre, literally "cloth bag theatre") were never called opera. Moreover, although *pún-tē kua-á* 本地歌仔 (literally "native songs;" "native" here refers to Yilan, the birthplace), which appeared in the 1900s, is the embryo of *kua-a-hi*, and *sam*^{24}*giog*^{2} *cai*^{31}*ca*^{11} 三腳採茶 (literally "tea-picking plays of three roles"), which appeared during Qing rule (1684-1895), is the embryo of *cai-ca-hi*, their forms were different from those of *kua-a-hi* and *cai-ca-hi*. Moreover, *pun-te kua-a* and *sam-giog cai-ca* were never called opera or reformed theatre. Therefore, they were not equal to *kua-a-hi* and *cai-ca-hi* in the 1920s.

Before the advent of *kua-a-hi* and *cai-ca-hi*, theatre in Taiwan came from either China or Japan, respectively either traditional or modern forms. Therefore, their advent is significant for the history of Taiwanese theatre. Both emerged in the same period, the 1920s, and their processes of development were very similar. Before long, they replaced the other kinds of theatre as the most popular theatre in Taiwan.

3. The question of the emergence of Taiwaneseness

[1] It was also named *tshit-kioh-á-hì* 七腳仔戲, literally "theatre of seven roles."

To define Taiwanese classical theatre or Taiwanese reformed theatre/opera involves the question of the emergence of Taiwaneseness. The meaning of "Taiwan" or "Taiwanese" also has a process of formation. The name Taiwan originated from "Tayouan," a name of a bay in the south west of the island in the Siraya language, one of many aboriginal tribes. As for the whole island, it was the Portuguese who called it Ilha Formosa (beautiful island; hence, Formosa, the old name for Taiwan) in 1544. The name continued to be used by later Dutch colonizers. When the Qing Empire conquered the island in 1683, it became the Taiwan Prefecture (臺灣府). From then on Taiwan referred to the area controlled by the Qing Empire.

Throughout the 212 years of Qing rule (1683-1895), the Empire never controlled the whole island. The meaning of Taiwan was not fixed when it was first adopted, but gradually expanded with the expansion of Chinese communities. During Qing rule, Taiwan had at least four meanings. In its broadest sense, Taiwan referred to Taiwan Prefecture. Before 1875, the area of Taiwan Prefecture was west of the Central Mountain Range. Only after this year, it nominally expanded to east of the mountain range.[2] The narrower sense referred to Taiwan County (臺灣縣), the metropolis within the area in which the Qing dominated.[3] The narrowest sense referred to the original Tayouan and Saccam, where the administrative and military organizations of Taiwan Prefecture were located.[4] In the Qing sources, Taiwan often meant this narrowest sense. In 1887, a fourth meaning of Taiwan appeared. The seat of the Taiwan Prefecture and Taiwan County was transferred from the southwest to the mid–west of the island.[5] From then on, Taiwan no longer referred to the original

[2] Sheng Qingyi et al., *Taiwan shi,* p. 243; 245; 249.
[3] Ibid., p. 243; 245; 252.
[4] Ibid., p. 243; 252.
[5] Ibid., p. 257.

southwestern region.

Entering the Japanese colonial period, the meaning of Taiwan became fixed. The narrow sense was the major island, and the broader sense included the smaller islands which were ceded along with the main island, such as the Penghu (澎湖) archipelago. The two meanings are continually used nowadays. Meanwhile, people and things on the island began to be clearly defined as Taiwanese. Books about the islands in all kinds of subjects were published in abundance. Whether official or private works, they usually had the word "Taiwanese" in the title. It was in mainstream use during the colonial period, while it was not so in the 212 years of Qing rule. Therefore, we could say that the Japanese colonial period defined Taiwan.

Certainly, the development of Taiwaneseness cannot be separated from Taiwan's colonial history. After Taiwan was ceded to Japan, it was separated from China, but at the same time, Taiwan was different from Japan. Meanwhile, Chinese traditions and Japanese influences both helped to shape a new culture. The island of Taiwan was re-defined, not simply by the colonizer, but also by the people residing in Taiwan. Cultural and literary campaigns were the most visible and prominent examples, but there were also other ideas which were not directly visible through a form of campaign. Since the construction of Taiwaneseness, the meaning of Taiwan has gone beyond the original meaning during the Qing rule of Taiwan as a region of China.[6]

[6] Before 1683, when the Qing army conquered the Kingdom of Dongning (1661-1683), Taiwan had never been ruled directly by a Chinese regime. Although the Kingdom of Dongning was established by Koxinga's (Zheng Chenggong 鄭成功 (1624-1662)) family from China, they were a maritime power on the East Asian sea, not representatives of the Chinese government. The Kingdom of Dongning was an independent regime. The kingdom and the Qing Empire were always antagonistic towards each other.

Therefore, when Japanese researchers wrote "Taiwan no engeki," it must not be perceived as an accident. The development of this concept was an echo of this period. Then how was Taiwanese classical theatre defined? How was Taiwaneseness formed? What was the process? This dissertation will seek to answer these questions.

4. The relationship between modernization and the classical theatre in Taiwan

Towards the end of Qing rule, Taiwan started to modernize. At the start of the Japanese colonial period, because of the achievement and experiences of modernization in Japan, the Government-General launched a series of modernization projects. As a result of an efficient colonial government, Taiwan was modernized quickly and thoroughly. This was undoubtedly a crucial period for Taiwan. Taiwan was transformed from a traditional society into a modern society at a rapid speed. Modern technology and concepts were introduced into Taiwan.[7] Culture and people's thoughts were changed in this era.[8] Modern mass media and the entertainment industry were established.[9] New styles of theatre were introduced as well.[10]

Studies of Taiwanese literature, Taiwanese modern theatre and Taiwanese arts would naturally involve modernization and modernity, because modern or Western forms of literature, theatre and arts were directly introduced to Taiwan from Japan during the colonial period.[11] In terms of the study of modernization or modernity in Taiwanese literature, the study of modern literature began first, with classical literature studies in

[7] Yuko Kikuchi, *Refracted Modernity*, p. 4; Huang Mei-Er, "Confrontation and Collaboration," p. 196.
[8] Liao Ping-Hui, "Taiwan under Japanese Colonial Rule," p. 22; Kikuchi, loc.cit.
[9] This field will be discussed in Chapter Three.
[10] This field will be discussed in Chapter Three.
[11] Chen Fang-Ming, *Taiwan xinwenwue*, p. 24; Kikuchi, op.cit., p. 5. The theatre field will be discussed in Chapter Three.

Taiwan starting much later.[12] When it comes to classical theatre in Taiwan, because it was introduced to Taiwan during the period of Qing rule, previous researchers have simply viewed it as a traditional type. It was called traditional theatre without any consideration or explanation.[13] However, the assumption that the classical form could never be affected by modernization is not credible. After all, the policy of modernization carried out by the colonial government was systematic and thorough. If it did change the whole Taiwanese society, how could classical theatre have been outside of these social changes and preserve a purely traditional type? Besides, why were *kua-a-hi* and *cai-ca-hi* particularly called reformed theatre and opera? I argue that it relates to the time when they were established, the modern period. The modern name should also imply modern characteristics to some extent. Therefore it is careless to ignore the time factor.

In recent years, scholars of Taiwanese classical literature have begun to notice the impact of modernization on classical literature during the colonial period. In the 2000s, some researchers of Taiwanese classical theatre also began to question whether the modernization during the colonial period influenced the local classical theatre, as it had influenced every other aspect of Taiwanese society. This dissertation will further supplement these research efforts.

III. A critical review of previous studies

Although Taiwanese reformed theatre/Taiwanese opera is undoubtedly a very important part of the dissertation, this is not only a study on *kua-a-hi* and *cai-ca-hi*.

[12] Huang Mei-Er, *Chongceng xiandaixing,* pp. 13-14.
[13] For example, introductory books by Chen Zhengzhi 陳正之, Lin Mao-Hsien 林茂賢, Chen Fang 陳芳, Tseng Yung-yih 曾永義, You Zong Rong 游宗蓉 and Lin Ming-Teh 林明德 are all entitled "Taiwanese traditional theatre."

Modernization might have influenced the whole of Taiwanese classical theatre and Taiwaneseness might also appear in the whole Taiwanese classical theatre. In this dissertation, I regard Taiwanese opera to be the final achievement or the most successful case of modernization. This dissertation will not only discuss *kua-a-hi* and *cai-ca-hi*, but also the change overall will be explored. Therefore, more specifically, this dissertation is a study of the history of Taiwanese classical theatre in the Japanese colonial period. In the following section, I will give an overview of the mainstream in studies on Taiwanese classical theatre as well as the studies on Taiwanese classical theatre in the Japanese colonial period. The studies of the colonial period are in fact connected deeply with the issue of modernization. The studies of *kua-a-hi* and *cai-ca-hi* in general follow the mainstream Taiwanese classical studies; therefore my review will especially focus on the studies which are most relevant to the dissertation.

1. The studies of Taiwanese classical theatre

Studies of Taiwanese classical theatre began at the end of the 19th century. Classical theatre in Taiwan began to be viewed as a kind of knowledge, and began to be studied with modern approaches by the Japanese colonizers. The construction of classical theatre studies in Taiwan was also a part of the modernization of classical theatre, but it has been ignored by scholars. Therefore, this history will discuss these individually in Chapter Two.

The study of Taiwanese classical theatre in the post-war period can roughly be divided into two stages. The first stage is from 1945 to the mid-1980s, around 40 years. It can be viewed as a period of interruption. The second is from the mid-1980s to the present, almost the last 30 years. This can be viewed as a recovery period. In this recovery period, a system of genre study of classical theatre was established and is in regular

use up to the present day. Hence, one may speculate that, in the near future, genre study will not decline. In addition, in the 2000s, a trend towards studying classical theatre in the Japanese colonial period has gradually emerged. This field is relatively new and is still developing.

Taiwanese classical theatre study was established in the Japanese colonial period. However, after World War II, when colonization ended and the KMT government from China took the place of Japan to rule Taiwan, these studies were disrupted. Until the mid-1980s, for about 40 years, there were only sporadic introductions to local classical theatre. Both in quantity and in quality, the level of Taiwanese classical theatre study during these four decades did not progress for the most part.[14] The reason cannot be separated from political factors, although most researchers of local classical theatre seemed not to recognize it. Some scholars have lightly touched on the subject,[15] but more have either avoided it, or failed to point this out.[16]

Before Martial Law was lifted in 1987, in order to counteract communist China, the KMT government made a huge effort to construct an orthodox China in Taiwan through educational, linguistic and cultural policies. Simultaneously, because of the Japanese colonial background, Taiwanese people were considered to be in need of reshaping as "real Chinese."[17] Under these circumstances, Taiwan was marginalized and Taiwanese culture was disdained as simply a marginal culture, although in reality Taiwan was almost the whole territory of the KMT regime after 1949. Therefore Taiwanese studies was non-mainstream. Moreover, "native land" or nativism (本土)

[14] Chiu Kun-Liang, *Taiwan juchang*, p. 26.
[15] Ibid.; Lin Ho-Yi, "Tixi yu shiye," pp.28-29.
[16] Tsai Hsin-Hsin, *Taiwan xiqu yanjiu chengguo,* pp. 298-300; Chiu Kun-Liang, op.cit., pp.26-29; Lin Ho-Yi, loc.cit.
[17] Huang Ying-che, "Were Taiwanese Being 'Enslaved'?," pp. 314-315; *Qu Ribenhua,* pp. 207-211.

was viewed as relating to the growing independence campaign,[18] and sometimes could even be twisted as Communism.[19] "Taiwan" or "native land" was not only marginal, but was also taboo, especially during the period of the White Terror, the political suppression to enforce KMT rule following an uprising against the KMT in Taiwan on the 28th February, 1947. Only after martial law was lifted in 1987 were all kinds of visible and invisible bans gradually lifted, and previously repressed ideas of native land as well as Taiwan had the opportunity and space to come to the forefront. A campaign of nativization began, in response to several decades of sinicization through education,[20] after which it was felt that many people in Taiwan were disconnected with the land on which they lived. It could otherwise be problematic for people to be more familiar with an imaginary China instead of the real Taiwan. Connected with this impulse to rediscover lost cultural roots, from the mid-1980s, increasing numbers of researchers began to study local classical theatre.

2. The over-emphasis on genre studies

If we search for comprehensive surveys of Taiwanese classical theatre, the outcome is likely to be disappointing. Strictly speaking, most of the comprehensive surveys are rather generic introductions with the content classified by genre, not periods. Examples are the works of Chen Zhengzhi 陳正之, Muo Guanghua 莫光華, Lin Mao-Hsien 林茂賢, Chen Fang 陳芳 and an edited volume by Tseng Yung-yih 曾永義, You Zong Rong 游宗蓉 and Lin Ming-Teh 林明德. These introductions reflect the mainstream of genre study. This emphasis on genre has made a complete historical

[18] Fu Chao-Ching, "Architecture in Taiwan," p. 170.
[19] The most famous and typical case is "The Second Nativist Literary Debate" (第二次鄉土文學論戰), which was raised by Yu Kuang-chung 余光中 in 1977. This famous writer in Taiwan published an article, "Lang laile" 狼來了 (The Wolf is Here) on *Lianhe bao* 聯合報 (United Daily News). In the article, he claimed that nativist literature is a disguise for communism literature. Yu belongs to the group which immigrated to Taiwan with the KMT government in 1949, and is well-known for works of nostalgia for China. See Sung-sheng Yvonne Chang, "Literature in Post-1949 Taiwan," p. 414.
[20] Ching-Tien Tsai, "Chinese-ization," p. 233; 235.

overview difficult.

Over almost 30 years, Taiwanese classical theatre study has been positioned within a framework of genres. Further sub-classification then includes genre history, contemporary performance, music, players, troupes and script studies, and so on. History is viewed as part of the genre. If we want to see the whole picture of a specific period, we have to search every genre and piece together a period of history ourselves.

The 2005 *Taiwan xiqu yanjiu chengguo shulun (1945-2001)* 臺灣戲曲研究成果述論 (1945-2001) (An Analysis of Achievements of Taiwanese Classical Theatre Study) by Tsai Hsin-Hsin 蔡欣欣 is a representative summary. The first half of the book is "the study of Chinese classical theatre" (中國戲曲劇論), while the later half is "the study of Taiwanese classical theatre" (台灣戲曲劇論). The sequence is naturally related to the development of classical theatre studies in Taiwan after war. Before the mid-1980s, the study focused on traditional Chinese theatre, influenced by sinicization.
The study of Taiwanese classical theatre is classified into genres by the author as "mainland genres" (大陸劇種), "native genres" (本土劇種) and puppet theatre (偶戲).[21] This classification undoubtedly reflects the mainstream, genre-style study. Beijing opera and *kunju* have the first position. Although these two kinds of theatre came to Taiwan before the 20th century, the studies of the two genres have absolutely nothing to do with this early history. Instead, all studies focus on the troupes arriving with the KMT government after 1949 or on contemporary performances.

In 2009, Lin Ho-Yi 林鶴宜 published another summary, Tixi yu shiye: wushi nianlai (1949-2002) Taiwan xuezhe dui chuantong xiquxue de jian'gou" 體系與視野：五十

[21] Tsai Hsin-Hsin, op.cit., pp. 19-20.

年來 (1949-2002) 台灣學者對傳統戲曲學的建構 (Systems and Visions: The Construction of Traditional Theater Studies in Taiwan: 1949-2002). Although Lin tried to avoid repeating *Taiwan xiqu yanjiu chengguo shulun* by Tsai, the basic structure is not different. The author still placed the study of "Taiwanese traditional theatre (臺灣傳統戲曲)" after the study of "Chinese traditional theatre (中國傳統戲曲)." Then the structure of "Taiwanese traditional theatre" is the "genres of Taiwanese traditional theatre (臺灣各戲曲劇種)," "Taiwanese *kua-a-hi* (臺灣歌仔戲)" and "Taiwanese puppet theatre (臺灣偶戲)."[22]

This newer summary still classifies Taiwanese classical theatre studies by "genre," not by "period." In "genres of Taiwanese traditional theatre," Lin mentions "historical study according to specific periods" (斷代史). However, she does not elaborate on this, so we do not know if it refers to period studies of the whole Taiwanese classical theatre, or to a specific genre. In fact, it would be difficult for the author to take a chronological approach, since classical theatre researchers usually take genre rather than period as a starting point. Neither Tsai nor Lin discovered that their classifications actually reveal the shortcomings of the approach to Taiwanese classical theatre studies.

To some extent, researchers based their studies on the assumption that Taiwanese classical theatre is a local form of Chinese theatre. A study might place classical theatre in Taiwan within the Chinese traditional theatrical system, and the starting point of the study is always to trace the roots of Taiwanese classical theatre from China, and then to explore the relationship with earlier Chinese theatre or other local theatre. However, this popular kind of comparative study does show the difference

[22] Lin Ho-Yi, op.cit., p. 13.

between classical theatre in Taiwan and in China, as well as the particular and individual development of classical theatre in Taiwan.

In addition to tracing the origins and comparisons with Chinese traditional theatre, the emphasis is obviously on the post-war period onwards. This is undoubtedly because of the research approach. Before the historical sources from the Qing and Japanese colonial periods were paid any attention, the approach to Taiwanese classical theatre studies was mainly fieldwork. Therefore, the observed objects were mainly troupes, players and performances in the post-war period. Researchers particularly relied on interviews with players who were active in the post-war period. The sources for the pre-war period were either their memories or even those of their parents, because a large portion of interviewees were actually born at the end of Japanese colonial period. This fieldwork approach obviously limited historical observation and influenced the viewpoint.

The discourse centred most often on the post-war period. The problem is that since researchers were not very aware that they were effectively doing contemporary studies, they usually did not have a historical overview. Occasionally, there would be period study of a specific genre, but these period studies still focused on the post-war or contemporary periods. Therefore, these kinds of studies remained within the genre framework and were not different from the major genre studies.

Chiu Kun-Liang 邱坤良 and Wang Song-Zan 王嵩山 conducted cross-genre studies, but these are exceptional cases, compared with the mainstream. However, their studies still only covered the contemporary period and did not further stimulate further cross-genre studies, especially cross-genre historical studies.

As a result, the earlier periods, such as during the Sino-Japanese war, the pre-war period, the period of Qing rule, or even earlier the periods, such as the Dongning Kingdom (東寧王國) (1661-1683) or Dutch colonial period (1624-1662), would be seen as initial history. Therefore, the early post-war period is seen as a golden age of Taiwanese classical theatre. But this general opinion is questionable and results from a lack of research into the earlier classical theatre history. Based on rediscovered historical texts and with consideration of the political ideology of different regimes, as well as the actual practices and effects of policies and cultural phenomena of different periods, it would be more accurate to say that the golden age was before the war. The early post-war period should be more properly viewed as the end of Taiwanese classical theatre history.

So far, the achievement of genre study is as an indispensable basis for classical theatre research. However, individual genre study is incapable of revealing the entire classical theatre phenomena in an era. If we do not have a clear sense of time, and research genres separately, we will not see if there was once a vital trend which led Taiwanese classical theatre to a new direction, and finally shaped what we now call “Taiwanese culture.”

3. Studies of Taiwanese classical theatre in the Japanese colonial period

Unthinkingly viewing Taiwanese classical theatre as part of the system of Chinese traditional local theatre study, this “foreign” colonial past has been disregarded (or even rejected), and it therefore has lacked careful and conscientious discussion, until the end of the 1990s. Because of insufficient studies of this period, works using the genre framework have usually clarified the earlier origins of Taiwanese theatre in

China and the traces in Taiwan before the 20th century, as well as analysing contemporary forms, but they do not explain the middle transformation, which I maintain is very significant.

Furthermore, as a result of several decades of a policy of de-Japanization in education and culture, the importance of Japanese colonial experiences has been seriously ignored. In fact, the anti-Japanese and Chinese nationalist ideologies influenced classical theatre studies up until the turn of the 21st century and we can still find some researchers who are unaware that their study has been influenced in this way. A typical example is the use of the phrase "the period of Japanese occupation" (*Riju shiqi* 日據時期) to refer to the colonial period in titles of works or in their contents. While they use the term "occupy" to refer to the Japanese and Dutch regimes, they never use the same word to refer to the Chinese regimes, the Dongning Kingdom or Qing rule. Tsai Hsin-Hsin's description is a representative case: "Taiwan […] was stolen by Dutch, managed by Zheng's family during the Ming Empire, governed by Qing Empire, occupied by Japan and ruled by democratic government." (臺灣[…]歷經了荷人竊領、明鄭經營、清廷管轄、日本占據與民主政府統治)[23] I would argue, however, that to the inhabitants of Taiwan, the Japanese, Dutch and Chinese were, at various times, all seen as foreigners.

The Chinese nationalist ideology has led to a lack of knowledge about the Japanese colonial period, which at least influences the following aspects. The most obvious is the error of using the Republic of China (ROC) as a means of dating to refer to the colonial period in Taiwan. A typical sentence, from the famous scholar of Taiwanese classical theatre, Lin Ho-Yi, is: "around the initial years of the ROC era during the

[23] Tsai Hsin-Hsin, op.cit., p. 298.

Japanese occupation" (日據約民國初年).[24] This easily causes confusion, not only over meaning, but also over time and space. From 1895 to 1945, Taiwan was in reality a colony of Japan. Taiwan went through Meiji (1868-1912), Taishō (1912-1926) and Shōwa (1926-1989) periods. But many researchers, including famous scholars, refer to the ROC, which was established in 1912 and which took control of Taiwan only after 1945. This most basic error should not happen, but it was a common situation before the 21st century, and still happens in the 21st century. The authors who use the ROC as a reference in this way are, unsurprisingly, those who use the phrase of "era of Japanese occupation." It suggests that the ROC government is the only legitimate regime in Taiwan. Worse is that these authors are apparently unaware of their political ideology and the possible negative influences on the objectivity of their research.

Moreover, under the ideology of anti-Japanese and Chinese nationalism, many studies emphasize "suppression" and "resistance" between the Japanese colonizers and theatrical players, but most of those studies do not provide any evidence. Therefore, these kinds of claims are not based on careful research.[25] The *kominka* (皇民化)[26] period is often emphasized because the colonial government intensively interfered in local theatre. However, it was only during the war years, 1937 to 1945, around one-sixth of the Japanese period. They fail to notice that for most of the colonial period local theatre was very vigorous. It seems that their impression of the Japanese colonization is only of the *kominka* period.[27]

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[24] Lin Ho-Yi, *Cong Tianye Chufa*, p. 33.
[25] Chiu Kun-Liang, *Jiuju yu xinju,* p. 210; Yang Fu-Ling, *Taiwan gezaixi shi*, pp. 73-74; Huang Xinying, *Taiwan de Kejiaxi,* pp. 38-39.
[26] *Kominka* is a movement by which the colonial government tried to assimilate Taiwan as part of Japan and to inspire loyalty.
[27] Zhang Xinan, *Huang Haidai*, pp. 36-37; Tseng Yung-yih, *Xiqu yuanliu,* p. 262.

The deeper influence is that researchers usually are unaware of "initial modernization." What they are conscious of was the later stages of modernization after the war. Therefore, they usually believe that the modernization of classical theatre only began in the latter half of the 20th century.[28] As a result, classical theatre in Taiwan has been viewed as a "rural" and "traditional" art for a long time by researchers. Some kinds of classical theatre, such as *kua-a-hi*, were thought to have been modernized only after the 1980s.[29] With the rediscovery of sources from the colonial period in recent years, this seemingly "fixed" theory obviously needs to be reviewed. For example, as I later show, the sources imply that *kua-a-hi* and *cai-ca-hi* were products of theatrical modernization in the early 20th century.

Originally, however, Taiwanese classical theatre was not a "rural" art. Many genres of classical theatre at that time, the early 20th century, were in fact popular in city commercial theatres. The majority of their audiences were actually the public. This classical theatre in Taiwan became marginalized, and became to be seen as local or non-mainstream art only when the KMT government took control of Taiwan following the Second World War, under a series of policies promoting sinicization in culture, education and language. Classical theatre in Taiwan can be considered to be native, but whether it was ever rural is questionable. In the post-war period, classical theatre still played in commercial theatres and used mass media, such as broadcasting, film and, later, television. Even though they were suppressed by policy or lost out to newer kinds of entertainment, withdrawing to the traditional free, outdoor theatres, in front of temples at festivals, those spaces are still for a large part in urban cities, and hence not strictly "rural".

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[28] Chiu Yi-feng, *Taiwan piyingxi*, p. 192; 241-242; Xie Zhongxian, *Taiwan budaixi fazhan*, p.188.
[29] Yang Fu-Ling, op.cit., p. 153; Lin Ho-Yi, "Gezaixi," pp. 141-142.

Moreover, because researchers have not realized the origins of modernization, some modern forms of Taiwanese classical theatre, such as adopting popular songs and Western instruments, as well as taking advantage of modern media to produce special effects, have been criticized for "deviating from the 'orthodox' type of Chinese traditional theatre" and therefore not considered worth studying.

In 1992, Chiu Kun-Liang published his *Jiuju yu xinju—Rizhi shiqi Taiwan xiju zhi yanjiu* 舊劇與新劇—日治時期臺灣戲劇之研究 (Old Theatre and New Theatre—A Study of Taiwanese Theatre in the Japanese Colonial Period). It is especially valuable that the book was not influenced by anti-Japanese or Chinese nationalist sentiments, unlike other studies before and after. Therefore, the viewpoint was more unbiased and objective, which certainly helped in taking a fresh view of that period. However, the emergence of his book did not immediately lead to further studies of this period. According to the author's own preface in the book, he did not seem to consider this period as a potential discipline, so he thought the work had already filled the deficiency in classical theatre history in Taiwan.

It is only at the turn of the 21st century that scholars have begun to examine this period. Particularly from midway through the first decade of the 2000s, the quantity of studies rose. Therefore, it is proper to say that in the 2000s, the study of Taiwanese classical theatre during the Japanese colonial period has formally become a discipline. This cannot be separated from the rediscovery and rearrangement of the sources from the period, which will be discussed later.

If we do not count sporadic works before 2000 and those of an obvious Chinese

nationalist bent, the field of pre-war Taiwanese classical theatre studies has formally developed for just over 10 years. Works on this period are mainly selections of sources and introductory works, rather than critical studies, such as Hsu Ya-Hsiang's works on newspapers, Xu Li-Sha 徐麗紗 and Lin Liang-Che's 林良哲 works on phonograph records. There has not been any broad expansion and the focus has been on modern speaking theatre, such as the works of Zhao-Nong Yang 楊炤濃, Zhong Zheng-Ying 鍾政瑩 and Shih Wan-shun 石婉舜, on female players, such as works of Qiu Xuling 邱旭伶, Huang Ya-chin 黃雅勤, Chuang Yu-Kuan 莊于寬, Ko Mei-ling 柯美齡, and Lin Yi-Ju 林倚如, and on classical theatre music, such as works of Hsu Yuan-Yang 徐元彥 and Chang Wan-Lin 張苑伶.

Modern types of theatre were directly introduced by the Japanese. Female players also appeared during the Japanese colonial period. Further, there was a particular culture of *gē-tuànn* 藝旦,[30] similar to the Japanese *geisha*, whose status was both as a performer and a courtesan. The *ge-tuann* culture reached a peak during this period and disappeared entirely after the war. Classical theatre music was also affected by the modern phonographic recording industry and Western music, both of which were also introduced by the Japanese.

However, the majority of studies until now have been MA theses. This phenomenon is similar to the study of Taiwanese classical theatre, which was launched by master's level postgraduate studies. Further, as I pointed out at the beginning of the chapter, the Japanese colonial period should be divided further into pre-war and war periods,

[30] *Ge-tuann* were trained in music, especially in singing arias of classical theatre which was popular at the time, such as *lâm-kuán* 南管 (literally "southern pipe"), *pak-kuán* 北管 (literally "northern pipe") or Beijing opera. Because of their singing skills, in the colonial period, they were often invited to perform with professional actors.

because the theatrical activities of the two periods were noticeably different. However, most of the studies attempt to cover the whole colonial period. Therefore, discussions of theatrical activities in different stages of colonization might be not detailed enough. As a whole, classical theatre study in this period has just begun. Therefore, the quantity and the quality are naturally not satisfactory yet.

Chiu's work mentions modernization in Taiwan, but it does not analyse modernization and modernity in classical theatre thoroughly. Further, he did not find that modernization also occurred in classical theatre in Taiwan; therefore, he simply classified classical theatre as "old theatre." In the 2000s, Chiu's model was gradually revised. Especially in 2006, Hsu Ya-Hsiang 徐亞湘 placed particular stress on the question of modernization in Taiwanese classical theatre in *Rizhi shiqi Taiwan xiqu shilun—xiandaihua zuoyong xia de juzhong yu juchang* 日治時期臺灣戲曲史論—現代化作用下的劇種與劇場 (A Study of Taiwanese Classical Theatre History of the Japanese Colonial Period—Genres and Theatres under Modernization). After Hsu, classical theatre modernization and modernity in the colonial period has become an important issue of debate.

4. The relevant studies in *kua-a-hi* and *cai-ca-hi*

As with mainstream of genre studies, *kua-a-hi* and *cai-ca-hi* studies emphasize post-war or contemporary phenomena. Although the 1920s and 1930s was the golden age of these two kinds of theatre, the number of studies is far less than those of post-war history. In recent years, the issue of "*opela/opera*" (胡撇仔) in *kua-a-hi* has gradually been noticed by scholars. Undoubtedly, these studies are closest to Taiwanese opera in this dissertation. *Opela/opera* is a form of *kua-a-hi* that possesses many more modern characteristics. In other words, it deviates from classical or

traditional theatre to a greater extent. This form was criticized by scholars of *kua-a-hi*, even the scholars who made an effort to promote *kua-a-hi*. These scholars did not recognize it as "real *kua-a-hi*." However, in the 2000s, this kind of viewpoint began to change. Essays or books gradually appeared. The representative studies are those of Hsieh Hsiao-Mei 謝筱玫, Silvio, Teri J. 司黛蕊, and Chen Yu-Hsing 陳幼馨. The studies of *opela/opera* especially emphasized contemporary performance. Researchers usually consider that *opela* originated during the war, directly caused by *kominka* policy, and the term appeared in the post-war period. Chen Yu-Hsing further studied theatrical modernization before the war, but she did not challenge the present viewpoint. The pre-war period is viewed by her as a background or an initial stage, instead a time of development for *opela/opera*.

Further, *opela/opera* was considered to exist in *kua-a-hi* only. In 2005, the work of Su Hsiu-Ting 蘇秀婷, *Taiwan Kejia gailiangxi zhi yanjiu* 臺灣客家改良戲之研究 (A Study of Taiwanese Hakka Reformed Theatre) corrected this viewpoint. Su indicates that *opela/opera* also existed in *cai-ca-hi*, but the study did not provide further analysis. Su was the first to notice "reformed theatre." However, up until now, no study has noted the relationship between the terms "歌劇," "オペラ" and "胡撇仔," although all of them were translations of "opera." The term "歌劇" in particular has been completely ignored by researchers. In fact, the sources for the Japanese colonial period show that the terms "opera" and "reformed theatre" symbolized what was modern, civil, progressive and fashionable. The terms were deeply related to Japanese influences at that time. However, due to the inefficiency of the studies of this period, researchers pay no attention to their meaning, importance and origin. Although "歌劇" is commonly used by troupes, researchers have not thought about the implication of this. There are even researchers who consider it to be wrong and ambiguous usage.

Some consider that troupes are under pressure and have no alternative but to use the name.

5. The studies of Taiwaneseness and nativization in Taiwanese classical theatre

Although there were several comprehensive introductions to Taiwanese classical theatre, all of them in reality did not clearly define what made it "Taiwanese". For researchers, it was not a question to clarify. According to the contents, they can be divided into two kinds.

The first kind follows closely the definition in the colonial period. Representative works are *Zhangzhong gongming—Taiwan de chuantong ouxi* and *Caotai gaoge—Taiwan chuantong xiju* by Chen Zhengzhi.

The second kind is based on the definition of Taiwanese classical theatre of the colonial period and then adds genres which spread to Taiwan after the war with new Chinese immigrants. Representative works are *Taiwan chuantong xiqu zhimei* by Tseng, You and Lin, *Taiwan chuantong xiqu* by Lin Mao-Hsien, *Taiwan chuantong xiqu* edited by Chen Fang, *Taiwan geleixing difang xiqu* by Muo Guanghua and Tsai Hsin-Hsin's book.

Obviously, both are under the influence of the definition created in the colonial period, but speakers were not aware of it. The first kind is usually viewed as native Taiwanese classical theatre. However, the meaning of native is not clarified. *What* is native? *Why* are genres in the first kind considered native? *When* are they considered native? Undoubtedly, the answers are from the colonial period, when "Taiwaneseness" was

defined for the first time.

The lack of discussion about Taiwaneseness is due to the focus of research. When Taiwanese classical theatre is positioned within a framework of Chinese classical theatre, the status of Taiwanese classical theatre is no more than a local branch of Chinese classical theatre. There would not be a question about Taiwaneseness.

Chen Long-ting 陳龍廷 was the first researcher who was conscious of this issue. He considered there to be a process of Taiwanization (臺灣化) in glove puppet theatre and traced this process from the colonial period. In 2010, Shih stressed the "subjectivity of Taiwan." It is the threshold to explore the relationship between Taiwaneseness, colonization and modernization. From these two cases we can see that when Taiwanese theatre is discussed within a colonial context, the question about Taiwaneseness appears, while the same question is not raised in studies within the framework of Chinese classical theatre.

Nevertheless Shih mainly emphasizes the theatrical movements or activities of Kawakami Otojirō 川上音二郎 (1864-1911) and Takamatsu Toyojirō 高松豐次郎 (1872-1952), and points out that *kua-a-hi* evolved under their influence. However, the idea of Taiwaneseness is not so clear in her work. She clarifies the image of Taiwan in the colonizers' view, which is an indispensable element to form Taiwaneseness, but it is not the complete picture. It cannot be said that Kawakami's or Takamatsu' activities that were the only or the most crucial factors or influences.

Nativism or nativization, mainly appears in the studies of contemporary classical theatre in Taiwan, especially of *kua-a-hi*, or Beijing opera after the 1990s. For

kua-a-hi, nativism is a process of replacing Beijing opera to become a symbol of Taiwanese culture. It resulted from the political democratization and cultural nativization movements. Beijing opera, which was previously considered to be the orthodox classical theatre, is now in a predicament. It has to be nativized in order to be accepted by Taiwanese audiences. Katie K. C. Su 蘇桂枝, in her 2003 *Guojia zhengce xia jingju gezaixi zhi fazhang* 國家政策下京劇歌仔戲之發展 (The Development of Beijing Opera and *Kua-a-hi* under Government Policies), and Nancy Guy, in her 2005 *Peking Opera and Politics in Taiwan,* are representative works of this issue.

Among the other forms of Taiwanese classical theatre, most other researchers have not been clearly conscious of this issue. There are only sporadic discussions of the nativization or localization in *lan-than* theatre language or scripts, such as the works of Liang Chen-Yu 梁真瑜, Jian Hsiu-jen 簡秀珍 and Xu Fu-Quan 徐福全.

6. The condition of studies in English and Japanese on theatrical history during the colonial period

With regard to English language scholarship, if we search for theatrical history in the colonial period, the result is unsatisfactory. The majority of English language scholarship focuses on post-war or contemporary theatrical activities in Taiwan, whether modern or classical theatre. On the subject of classical theatre, *kua-a-hi* and Beijing opera are given particular attention. It is apparently related to the transformation in politics and society of Taiwan after democratization and nativization. Popular issues are: How is classical theatre involved in political and social transformation, especially with regard to identity? How have the statuses of *kua-a-hi* and Bejing opera changed? How has classical theatre been reformed to suit

contemporary interests? How are Western theatrical works adapted to classical theatre in Taiwan? Another interest is in theatrical performances in religious events.

Comparatively, studies about theatre during the Japanese colonial theatre are quite few. Hsieh Hsiao-Mei in particular focuses on this period. However, Hsieh's studies are limited to the war and do not extend into the pre-war period.[31] At the current stage, the help of scholarship in English for research is to provide discussions of the Japanese colonial period in history, politics, literature, arts and so on. Works such as Leo Ching's *Becoming "Japanese": Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation*, *Taiwan under Japanese Colonial Rule, 1895-1945: History, Culture, Memory*, edited by Liao Ping-hui, and *Refracted Modernity: Visual Culture and Identity in Colonial Taiwan*, edited by Yuko Kikuchi, discuss the colonial nature in many different fields. The discussions concern common questions as colonial modernity, assimilation or identity. Generally speaking, most studies have either covered the whole colonial period, or focused on the *kominka* period in particular. *Kominka* arouses considerably more interest. Further, intellectuals and their activities are often the focus of the studies. The relationship between colonizers and local intellectuals is of particular interest to these studies.

While the discussions of theatre itself are sparse, I have to emphasize that the concern of this thesis, Taiwanese classical theatre, was one of the main forms of public entertainment and popular culture. The development of this popular culture clearly reflects the effects of colonization and its impact on the formation of modern Taiwanese identity and Taiwaneseness. Therefore it should not be neglected or placed

[31] In 2012, Wang Chun-yen's 汪俊彥 PhD thesis, "Translation of Aesthetics: Local Performances in Colonial Taiwan, 1895-1945," eventually discusses the pre-war period, but it is not publicly or privately accessible yet.

in a marginal position in the study of colonial modernity in Taiwan. Besides, I would argue, for the development of modern Taiwanese culture, the most crucial time is the pre-war period, particularly the 1920s to the 1930s, rather than the war time. Furthermore, in addition to intellectuals, there are many other influences and factors in the formation of modern Taiwanese culture. In terms of activities of Taiwanese classical theatre, there is not a clear-cut distinction between intellectuals and the public. That is, it is hard to say whether people who published comments or criticism in newspapers were necessarily intellectuals. Similarly, it is also hard to say whether people who bought *kua-a-hi* records were necessarily non-intellectuals. The modernization effect can be seen at this point. Before the colonial period, the narrators of theatrical activities were clearly intellectuals. However, during the colonial period, because of the establishment of compulsory education, the increase in the literacy rate, the popularization of newspapers, and the rise of consumption, to appreciate and criticize theatre, to consume theatrical products and to take advantage of the media were not exclusive to the traditionally defined intelligentsia.

Outside of Taiwan, scholars in Japan are most interested in this colonial history. They have uncovered and collated the sources of this period, for example, Kawahara Isao's 河原功 work on modern theatre, Fukuoka Shota's 福岡正太 and Liou Lin-Yu's 劉麟玉 work on phonographic recordings, Misawa Mamie's 三澤真美惠 work on film and Nakajima Toshio's 中島利郎 work on literary sources. Compared with studies in English, studies published in Japanese cover more subjects and are more detailed. Subjects have extended to popular entertainment, including theatre. However, their focus is on modern theatre, rather than classical theatre. This is reasonable because modern theatre in Taiwan was introduced from Japan. As for classical theatre, perhaps it is considered not to be so related to Japanese influences. Nevertheless,

Japanese studies of modern theatre in Taiwan are important for research on other kinds of theatrical activities in the same era. The major scholars are Tarumi Chie 垂水千惠, Lee Wan-ju 李宛儒 and Inoue Yoshie 井上理惠. Tarumi pays more attention to the intelligentsia's theatrical activities. Lee's and Inoue's theses are directly related to this dissertation and will be cited in the following chapters.

Overall, whether in Taiwan, the West or Japan, theatrical history during the Japanese colonial period is a very new field and is still developing.

IV. The research subject

This dissertation will explore Taiwanese classical theatre from a new point of view and involve many new fields not previously covered by studies. Firstly, while previous studies usually places Taiwanese classical theatre into the system of Chinese traditional theatre, this dissertation will position Taiwanese classical theatre within an East Asian context, because from 1895, Taiwanese classical theatre was influenced by both Japan and China at the same time. To receive influences from China does not mean that Taiwanese classical theatre belongs to a local variation of Chinese traditional theatre. Similarly, being exposed to Japanese influences does not mean that Taiwanese classical theatre is equal to Japanese local theatre.

Based on the foundation established by Chiu Kun-Liang and Hsu Ya-Hsiang, this dissertation will build on studies of theatrical modernization in the Japanese colonial period, still a new field to be developed. Furthermore, the dissertation will explore Taiwaneseness appearing in classical theatre in Taiwan during this period, which also is an undeveloped area.

This dissertation will for the first time focus in particular on the construction of the modern study of classical theatre in Taiwan, and the emergence of a new concept, "Taiwanese classical theatre." The dissertation will also for the first time document the emergence of the term "opera" in a Taiwanese context, and the significance of its meaning. It appeared along with the emergence of *kua-a-hi* and *cai-ca-hi*, and was the name of the two kinds of new theatre. Furthermore, this dissertation will also for the first time connect "opera" and "reformed theatre," and pay attention to the particular meaning when they were invented in the Japanese colonial era.

In addition, this dissertation will for the first time analyse the scripts of local themes that appeared in the colonial period. Generally speaking, studies on Taiwanese classical theatre mostly emphasize performance, while studies of scripts are few and are mostly on works after the 1990s. Studies of scripts in the colonial period have not begun until now. The research on linguistic Taiwanization in the colonial period has only begun in the last few years, and this dissertation will also help to establish this new field.

Through exploring these aspects, the dissertation will reveal the formation of Taiwanese classical theatre.

V. The approach and the sources for the study

The sources for this study are from the Japanese colonial era, which are being rediscovered and made available. These include publications such as books, journals and newspapers; official documents, files and reports of all kinds of investigation;

private documents, such as diaries, letters or contracts; images such as maps, photos, or postcards; films; phonograph records, and so on. It in fact involves an effort to rediscover, re-collate, reassess and reaffirm the importance and value of the legacy of this era since colonization ended in 1945. These sources are being digitized continually and are open to the public.

When it comes to classical theatre, the most relevant are publications of books, journals and newspapers, as well as phonograph records. These publications include articles about classical theatre. These kinds of sources are able to provide an overview of classical theatre activities. In 2004, Rizhi shiqi Taiwan baokan xiqu ziliao jiansuo guangdie 日治時期臺灣報刊戲曲資料檢索光碟 (A CD-ROM Index for Classical theatre Sources on Newspapers and Periodicals of the Japanese Colonial Period) was published. The National Center for Traditional Arts (國立傳統藝術中心) entrusted Hsu Ya-Hsiang to select classical theatre reports from all of the newspapers in the Japanese colonial period. The CD-ROM is the product of this, and it is one of the most useful materials for classical theatre study. In addition to this material, this study takes advantage of the following materials:

1. Rizhi shiqi qikan quanwen yingxiang xitong 日治時期期刊全文影像系統
(Full-Text Image System for Periodicals of Japanese Ruled Period)
2. Rizhi xhiqi tushu quanwen yingxiang xitong 日治時期圖書全文影像系統
(Full-Text Image System for Books of Japanese Ruled Period)
Work on the above databases began in 2007 by the National Taiwan Library (國立中央圖書館台灣分館). Digitizaton is continuing.[32]

[32] For an introduction to the plan, see "Guancang Riwen Taiwan ziliao."

3. Guoli gonggong zhixun tushuguan shuwei diancang fuwuwang 國立公共資訊圖書館數位典藏服務網 (Digital Archives Service Network, National Library of Public Information), established by the National Taichung Library from 2003. Digitizaton is continuing.[33]

4. *Taiwan ririxinbao* ziliaoku 臺灣日日新報資料庫 (*Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* Database)

The *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (Taiwan Daily News) was issued from 1898 to 1944, covering almost the whole colonial period. From 1901, two Chinese pages were included, until 1937, when the Chinese pages were dropped. This newspaper was the longest running and had the largest circulation of the newspapers of the period. Therefore it was undoubtedly the most representative newspaper.[34]

5. *Hanwen Taiwan ririxinbao* ziliaoku 漢文臺灣日日新報資料庫 (*Kanbun Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* Database (Full-text Version))

From 1905, the Chinese edition was issued separately for Taiwanese readers until 1911, when it was merged into the original *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* again.[35]

6. Rizhi shiqi *Taiwan shibao* ziliaoku (1898-1945 Heji) 日治時期台灣時報資料庫 (1898 ~ 1945 合集), (*Taiwan JIHŌ* Database (Taiwan Times))

Taiwan jihō (Taiwan Times) was the official organ of the Taiwan Government-General. During the colonial period, theatrical activities were governed by the police; therefore sometimes there would be police officers publishing their theatrical observation in this

[33] Ibid.
[34] It is digitized by the two companies, Hanzhen 漢珍 (Transmission Books & Microinfo Co.) and Daduo 大鐸 (Tudor Tech Systems Co.). The materials of the database of Hanzhen and of Daduo are the same, but the Daduo digital images are clearer.
[35] It is digitized by Hanzhen and Daduo.

organ.[36]

This study will focus on contemporary sources instead of relying on interviews, as with previous works. Previous studies had to be based on this approach because sources for the colonial period were not available before. Further, players who were active between the 1900s and the 1930s have now almost all died. Although their children and grandchildren may still be alive, their memories of their parents or grandparents may not be accurate. After all, they did not live in that era, and did not experience the social climate and atmosphere themselves. Moreover, the sources from the colonial period may cover a broader range of detail. Interviews of persons not involved in that period are incapable of providing this broad range.

When it comes to the content of classical theatre, undoubtedly scripts are indispensable. However, not all the scripts of every genre are easy to find. There might be a few preserved scripts of older forms, such as *tshit-tsu-pan*, *lan-than*, and puppet theatre. Unlike publications, which would be collected and preserved systematically by public libraries or governmental institutions, scripts in this era were only for the use of troupes. Once the troupes disbanded, their scripts were easily lost. Most troupes of that era do not exist today. Their scripts and other sources are in reality difficult to trace. Even though a few troupes remain, there is no guarantee that they will have preserved the older scripts.

As for the new genres that appeared in this era, whether *kua-a-hi*, *cai-ca-hi* or modern speaking theatre, troupes in fact did not use a so-called script. What they used was an outline (總綱/演白概說), which usually summarized the role as well as a scene or act.

[36] It is digitized by Hanzhen.

There were no complete lines and lyrics in this kind of outline, sometimes not any at all. The lines and lyrics in reality existed in a player's mind, whether created by the players themselves or taught by directors or producers. There were few instances to publish outlines or scripts in journals. Shih Wan-shun discovered some outlines from *Goen* 語苑 (Linguistic Garden). Tōhō Takayoshi 東方孝義 (fl.1919-1944 in Taiwan), a police official during the colonial period, once recorded a script of *kua-a-hi*, *It lú phuè lióng hu; Ichi jo hai ryō fu* 一女配兩夫 (A Woman with Two Husbands) and published it in *Taiwan jihō*.[37] This script and most of the outlines in *Goen* were written in Japanese, because readers of these journals were Japanese officials. In fact, the study of scripts during the Japanese colonial period before the war has yet to begin in earnest. So far, only Shih discusses the content of individual plays, and only in 2010. Previous works have simply listed the titles of plays. However, Shih's discussion is also based on outlines, not the scripts themselves.

My approach in tackling this problem is to take advantage of another kind of source which is able to show scripts, namely phonograph recordings. It is not a record of live performance, although, because of the emergence of the phonograph industry, the *kua-a-hi* and *cai-ca-hi* scripts began to be written regularly, and players began to follow scripts in their performances. This is also a new discovery of this research, which will be further explained in Chapter Five.

So far there are two public collections of these phonograph records. One is preserved at the Taiwan Theatre Museum (臺灣戲劇館) in Yilan, and the other is kept at the National Museum of Ethnology (国立民族学博物館) in Osaka. The Taiwan Theatre Museum collected records by different companies, and have digitized part of the

[37] Tōhō Takayoshi, "Taiwan no engeki [2]," pp. 35-44; "Taiwan no engeki [3]," pp. 36-46.

records. Some of the digital files have been uploaded to the National Taichung Library Digital Archives Service Network web site. Not every record is capable of being digitized because they are too vulnerable to be played again. Even the digitized sound files have unavoidable interference, since the old records are worn. Sometimes, the poor quality of the sound files makes it difficult to distinguish the words, spoken or sung. Another weakness is that the episodes of a play are often incomplete, which also causes inconvenience for research.

As for the collection at the National Museum of Ethnology, this is from Columbia Company (古倫美亞). This company remains after war, and is still a very big company nowadays. In the early 1980s, the company donated the master copies of its pre-war phonographic records to the museum. The museum originally published audiotape copies. In 2007, the museum published CD copies and edited a catalogue at the same time. So far, it is the most detailed catalogue of records from the colonial era. Because copies were from the master, this collection possesses the best tonal quality, without interference. Not only the music part, but also the speaking and singing are also very clear and much easier to distinguish, compared to the existing old records. Moreover, because it is a complete collection directly from Columbia Company, every play has complete episodes. This also preserves many special records which have already been lost in Taiwan.

Also, some lyric cards have been preserved. A lyric card was attached to a record to be sold at that time, just as with marketing practice nowadays. In fact, these lyric cards were not really limited to lyrics. A theatre record lyric card was the script. Although compared with records the number of collected lyric cards is quite few, this source is still very precious because the preservation of the lyric cards was even more

difficult than the records.

In reality, the record collections in Taiwan are impossible to compare with the collection in Osaka, since governmental institutions in Taiwan can only collect the old records from private collectors. The only weakness is that the museum does not possess records of other companies from the colonial era. However, this is not a serious problem, because the Columbia Company was also a representative enterprise at that time. In 1914, Taiwanese theatre and music started to be recorded by Nipponophone (日本蓄音器商會). Then in 1928, Columbia acquired Nipponophone and became the largest company in the phonograph record industry in Taiwan. In fact, it was the successful marketing strategy by Columbia that led Taiwan to the age of the phonograph recording industry. Columbia recordings included all kinds of theatre in Taiwan, such as the new *kua-a-hi* and *cai-ca-hi*, both of which rose in commercial theatres in the mid-1920s. The collection of Columbia recordings properly reflects classical theatre from the mid-1920s and the mid-1930s.

For these reasons, the collection at the National Museum of Ethnology definitely has ideal material for theatre study. Nevertheless, so far, mostly musicologists have paid attention to the phonograph recordings. Scholars of classical theatre studies have not taken advantage of it to study scripts. Sound records are rarely transcribed into text. Only *Cong Rizhi shiqi changpian kan Taiwan gezaixi* as well as *Tingdao Taiwan lishi de shengyin—1910~1945 Taiwan xiqu changpian yuanyin chongxian* have a few transcribed scripts. All of those were transcribed from old records in private collections in Taiwan. In other words, the best material, the copies at the National Museum of Ethnology, has not been used by classical theatre researchers until now. This study is based on my fieldwork in June 2012 at the museum. The transcribed

scripts in the above two books will be used as supplementary material.

VI. Structure

In this chapter, I asked whether and how modernization and the emergence of Taiwaneseness led to the formation of Taiwanese classical theatre. In the following chapters, I will outline the various aspects of this process of formation in answer to these questions.

In Chapter Two, I will study the first step in the formation of Taiwanese classical theatre, namely, the construction of the study and the concept of Taiwanese classical theatre. My hypothesis is that Japanese researchers introduced modern methods to study classical theatre in Taiwan, thereby establishing a modern system of knowledge. Furthermore, through modern methods of research on classical theatre, the concept of Taiwanese was constructed. I will, firstly, trace records and descriptions relating to theatre from before 1895. This will be followed by local people's records and descriptions of the colonial period. Then I will compare this with the records and descriptions by Japanese researchers and by local people who learnt the new approach. Through it, the construction of the concept of Taiwanese classical theatre will be revealed.

In Chapter Three, I will outline the second step in the formation of Taiwanese classical theatre, namely, theatrical modernization during the colonial period. My argument is that modernization stimulated Taiwanization, not only in terms of concept, but also in terms of the content of classical theatre in Taiwan, especially in helping the emergence of the new genre, Taiwanese reformed theatre/Taiwanese opera. I begin

with the introduction of commercial theatres and their related operations and the impact of modern media on theatre in Taiwan, that is, newspapers and related means of advertizing, as well as the broadcasting and the phonograph recording industry. Then I will discuss theatre reform and the aesthetic revolution, which was introduced from both Japan and China. Theatre reform in Japan and China will be described firstly. Then I will outline the development after the movement was introduced to Taiwan and how affected local classical theatre. The discussion will include two aspects, the development of aesthetic of realism in forms and in themes. Finally, I will explore whether or how these trends brought about Taiwanese reformed theatre/Taiwanese opera.

In Chapter Four, I will examine the third stage, the Taiwanization of theatrical languages. My hypothesis is that linguistic Taiwanization in the theatre was a feature of the colonial period, and Taiwanese reformed theatre/Taiwanese opera was a result of this Taiwanization. I first trace the background to the formation of the concept of Taiwanese languages in the colonial period. Then the languages that were used in theatre at this period will be introduced before examining whether the languages of the old forms of Taiwanese classical theatre changed. Furthermore, I will discuss whether or how the idea of theatre reform affected people's opinions about languages used in theatre, and, meanwhile, whether it corresponded to cultural and literary movements in that era. Finally, I will analyze the linguistic characteristics disclosed by scripts and phonograph recordings of Taiwanese reformed theatre/Taiwanese opera.

In Chapter Five, I will analyze the final stage, Taiwanization of themes. My argument is that when Taiwanese themes appeared, Taiwanese classical theatre was completely

formed. I will firstly trace the plays in Taiwan before 1895. Then I will trace the emergence of Taiwanese scenes and Taiwanese themes. Who began to create Taiwanese scenes and themes? Was it related to the theatrical movement? Then I will focus on the Taiwanese themes that appeared in Taiwanese classical theatre. What kinds of ideas or characteristics do the remaining records and scripts show?

Chapter Six concludes the thesis. I will review the main points from the previous chapters and point out the contribution of the dissertation. Further, I will show the meaning of the formation of Taiwanese classical theatre to Taiwanese culture. Then I will assess contemporary theory and movement to “refine” Taiwanese classical theatre. Finally, I will propose some relevant questions and potential topics for future research regarding Taiwanese theatre following the advent of Taiwanese classical theatre.

Chapter Two

The Modern Construction of the Study and the Concept of Taiwanese Classical Theatre

After several decades of de-Japanization, the achievements of the colonial period have had no opportunity to be assessed, debated or criticized, but were directly denied, and were gradually forgotten. However, I argue that during the Japanese colonial period, the foundations for classical theatre studies were first laid, and it is a significant aspect of theatrical modernization in Taiwan.

In this chapter, I will discuss the process of constructing classical theatre studies and the concept of Taiwanese classical theatre in Taiwan. This chapter also discusses the substance and identity of Taiwanese classical theatre established through this process.

After democratization and nativization in the late 1980s, the Japanese colonial experience was gradually viewed with less bias, including within classical theatre studies. In 1992, Chiu Kun-Liang first reviewed classical theatre studies during the colonial period, in his *Jiuju yu xinju—Rizhi shiqi Taiwan xiju zhi yanjiu.* Chiu introduced many important works, including books and journal articles, and briefly summarized their contents. He valued these studies and approved of the contribution of these Japanese authors while he also pointed out their biases. It is especially noteworthy that among these works, Chiu considered *Taiwan engeki no gensō* 臺灣演劇の現狀 (The Present Situation of Taiwanese Theatre), edited by Hamada Hidesaburō 濱田秀三郎 (?-?) and published in 1943, and *Taiwan shūzoku* 台灣習俗 (Taiwanese Customs) by Tōhō Takayoshi (first serialized in *Taiwan jihō*

from 1936 to 1937) to be Taiwanese theatrical histories. This was a new discovery (or rediscovery). Nevertheless as a whole, Chiu rather regarded the studies in the colonial period as historical data only, not especially different from other kinds of materials for research. He did not further notice the construction history of classical theatre study. This is a common situation of researchers up until the present. Predictably, in the mainstream of genre study, the issue of the overall history is hardly ever considered.

In the 2000s, newspapers from the Japanese colonial period were rediscovered and digitized, and private diaries were also discovered and made available to the public and researchers. Since articles about classical theatre in journals and books during the same period have been viewed as no more than historical data, they have been marginalized in the study of the colonial period. Journal articles and books did not appear regularly and frequently. They may be published at an interval of several years. Comparatively, newspapers and diaries provide steady yearly, monthly or even daily information. These articles and books, which previously helped the study of classical theatre in the Japanese period, have now been put aside. Compared to articles about Taiwanese literature in the colonial period, which have already been collected and translated,[1] little attention has been paid to articles on classical theatre.

Although Chiu discovered that two classical theatre histories had appeared in the Japanese colonial period, this discovery drew little attention. There has been no discussion about these and its background. Tsai's *Taiwan xiqu yanjiu chengguo shulun (1945-2001)* in 2005 and Lin's "Tixi yu shiye: wushi nianlai (1949-2002) Taiwan xuezhe dui chuantong xiquxue de jiangou" in 2009 represent a common opinion on

[1] The collection is *Rizhi shiqi Taiwan wenyi pinglunji* 日治時期臺灣文藝評論集 (Major Texts of Taiwanese Literary Criticism: The Japanese Colonial Period, 1921-1945).

the history of classical theatre. Tsai only regarded the 1961 *Taiwan dianying xiju shi* 臺灣電影戲劇史 (A History of Taiwanese Film and Theatre) by Lü Su-Shang 呂訴上 (1915-1970) as the threshold of the study of Taiwanese classical theatre. The author apparently did not consider the fact that Lü received a theatrical education within the Japanese system during the colonial period, and that theatrical studies at that time might have directly or indirectly influenced Lü to write this book. Tsai did not discuss studies from the Japanese colonial period. Moreover, this book is the kind of research that uses the phrase "era of Japanese occupation." Therefore, Lü's book looks like a sudden occurrence without any precursors. Lin's study, however, was more advanced. She traced the threshold earlier to the colonial period, but what she found was no more than a "threshold." This kind of observation is naturally not enough.

Certainly, in the fifty year prior to1945, there was not only a "threshold;" there was already a process of construction. The first essay on Taiwanese classical theatre was by the Japanese scholars of the time. It was also Japanese researchers who began to classify classical theatre in Taiwan systematically. Soon after the beginning of colonization, the government and the Japanese intellectuals arranged investigations on all kinds of subjects on Taiwan. This was unprecedented in Taiwan. Classical theatre drew their attention and was observed in a new way as well. The development of the study of Taiwanese classical theatre corresponded to the formation of Taiwanese classical theatre and helped to form a concept of "Taiwanese classical theatre".

I. Records and descriptions of classical theatre in Taiwan before the Japanese colonial period

The period of Qing rule is the starting point for recording and describing classical

theatre. Although the Chinese had lived on the island before this period and there had been classical theatre, theatrical records do not appear until the advent of Qing rule. The only reliable records about classical theatre during the earlier Kingdom of Dongning, "Ping Taiwan xu" 平臺灣序 (Conquering Taiwan: A Preface) by Shen Guangwen 沈光文 (1613-1688),[2] was written at the beginning of Qing rule.

As Chang Chi-Feng 張啓豐 has shown, there are three major kinds of records for classical theatre during the Qing rule. The first kind is local gazetteers. The second is official or private documents. The third is poetry and prose.[3] The first kind, local gazetteers, usually describes theatrical activities, especially folk or religious festivals. But further details are lacking. Further, the forms of classical theatre are rarely indicated. The first local gazetteer which relates to Taiwan, *Fujian tongzhi* 福建通志 (A General Gazetteer of Fujian) of 1686, and the first Taiwanese local gazetteer, *Taiwanfu zhi* 臺灣府志 (A Gazetteer of Taiwan Prefecture) of 1688[4], only record "performing theatre" (*yanxi* 演戲). This simple note does not illustrate the kind of classical theatre performed. It was a general way to describe theatrical activities in local gazetteers during Qing rule. The local gazetteers rather illustrated whole festivals. The reason is not only the explanation researchers usually offer: theatre, especially local theatre, was often considered unorthodox and was despised by traditional Chinese elite society, who owned the power to write. Therefore, these writers did not focus on theatre. Precisely speaking, there was in fact no focus in those illustrations of folk customs in local gazetteers. In other words, there was not a concept of accuracy for writers of local gazetteers. As with descriptions of classical

[2] All sources before the Japanese colonial period which appear in this chapter are collected in *Taiwan wenxian congkan* 臺灣文獻叢刊 (Taiwan Collectanea). This collection has been digitized in the Taiwan Collectanea Search System.
[3] Chang Chi-Feng, "Qingdai Taiwan xiqu," pp. 9-12.
[4] The first draft was edited in 1685.

theatre, descriptions about other customs are sketchy as well.[5]

The second kind, official or private documents, do not record classical theatre purposely. This kind of record mainly includes official reports of criminal cases, rebellions or battles, announcements of prohibitions, autonomous pacts and contracts. Classical theatre is not a concern. These kinds of sources do not explain the classical theatre which they mention. However, it is interesting that many genres of classical theatre in fact are revealed from this source. For studying genres of classical theatre, it contributes more than local gazetteers. Perhaps it is because these kinds of documents were for practical purposes, therefore they reflect the contemporary situation in a society or a community, and sometimes include popular genres of classical theatre unconsciously.

In the third kind of source, poetry is in the majority. Compared to the brevity of the above two kinds of sources, poetry provides more vivid detail. Characteristics of classical theatre were displayed in these sources. Nevertheless, strictly speaking, these literary works are not intentional introductions. The annotations of some poems can be properly viewed as introductions. Some poets annotated in order to explain better the kinds of classical theatre. These poets might be aware of "a writer's responsibility" to explain to readers. However, it was an occasional case. Most poets did not have this kind of awareness. We probably expect prose to provide more information, since prose allows a freer writing style, not limited by a fixed form, as with a local gazetteer or poetry. Disappointingly, most of the prose does not surpass local gazetteers in content. For the most part, the vigorous phenomenon of classical

[5] This is related to the ambition of local gazetteers editing and the connected "knowledge strategy." See Lin Kai-shyh, "Fangzhi de chengxian," p. 21; 36.

theatre is described, but the details are lacking, such as genre or characteristics. Nevertheless, to think further, perhaps this situation is very reasonable. Authors of prose and editors of local gazetteers were from the same group, officials who were sent to Taiwan or local intellectuals. They may write in a variety of literary forms, but how they view and record theatre was the same; the description of theatre does not change with the literary form.

We can define an introduction as: 1. where a writer has the intention to explain to readers; 2. not only theatrical activities are mentioned, but also the forms and characteristics of classical theatre are also indicated. Then, according to this definition, during the 212 years of Qing rule, there were only the following introductions to classical theatre: *Bihai jiyou* 裨海紀遊 (A Travel on the Sea) by Yu Yonghe 郁永河 (1645-? fl. 1697 in Taiwan) in 1697, "Fengwu yin" 風物吟 (Poems of Scenes) by Zheng Dashu 鄭大樞 (fl. mid-1730s-1740s in Taiwan) in the early 18th century, *Haidong zhaji* 海東札記 (Notes on the East of the Sea) by Zhu Jingying 朱景英 (fl. 1750-1770s) in 1772-1773, and *Penghuting zhi* 澎湖廳志 (A Gazetteer of the Penghu Subprefecture) in 1893. For example, Zhu's description was:

> In the temples and neighbourhoods, there is not a day when theatre is not performed. Lively sounds of drums and music fill the air and are performed continuously on roads. Most performers are local and small troupes. The pronunciation of their language is abstruse and incomprehensible. The theatre is accompanied on string and bamboo instruments, having the distinct musical principle, and is called "down south music/language."
> 神祠、里巷靡日不演戲，鼓樂喧闐，相續於道。演唱多土班小部，發聲詰屈

不可解。譜以絲竹，別有宮商，名曰：「下南腔」。[6]

The description by Zheng was

> Boy actors all grow hair on the top of their heads, playing male or female roles in evening theatrical performances. They compete to cast "eye splendor" from stages. Local audiences will respond by throwing money and playthings back for pleasure. It is called "flower drum theatre."
> 優童皆留頂髮，粧扮生旦，演唱夜戲。臺上爭丟目采，郡人多以銀錢、玩物拋之爲快，名曰：「花鼓戲」。[7]

We should notice that these introductions were merely embryonic because they were still fragmentary and quite brief, only a few sentences.

II. Native people's records and descriptions in the Japanese colonial period and the emergence of the idea of Taiwanese classical theatre

When the colonial period started, another local gazetteer, *An-pîng-kuān tsa̍p-kì* 安平縣雜記 (Notes on Anping County) appeared. It began to be edited from 1894, the last year of Qing rule, and then was presented to the public after 1895. This book is famous for being the first complete introduction to the genres of classical theatre in

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[6] The source is in the third chapter, "Ji qixi" 記氣習 (A note on common practice), of *Haidong zhaji.* The book is now collected in *Taiwan wenxian congkan*. "Down south" stands for southern Fujian. See Piet van der Loon, *Art Song of South Fukien*, p. 15.

[7] The source is in the section of "Yiwen qi, shi si" 藝文七, 詩四 (Poetry IV, Literature VII), in the 26th chapter of *Xuxiu Taiwanfu zhi* 續修臺灣府志 (A New Edition of the Gazetteer of Taiwan Prefecture). The book is now collected in *Taiwan wenxian congkan*.

Taiwan. It lists 11 different kinds of classical theatre in Taiwan, which consisted of string puppetry, *kuann-im* 官音 (literally, "official language;" another name for *lan-than*), *xi*[55]*pin*[11] 四平 (the meaning is unclear), *hok-lōo* 福路 (literally "*hok* style"), *tshit-tsu-pan*, glove puppetry, *lāu-hì* 老戲 (literally, "old theatre"), shadow theatre, *tshia-kóo* 車鼓 (literally "drum playing"), *cai-ca* and the *ge-tuann* plays.[8]

At first glance, it is easy to regard *An-ping-kuan tsap-ki* as merely another local gazetteer, just as with previous works. However, the way in which this book mentions classical theatre is different. Its description was a complete overview of classical theatre in Taiwan. Not long before, the description of *Penghuting zhi* of 1893 was still fragmentary:

> The theatre of Penghu is generally called "seven roles troupes." This came from Quanzhou and Xiamen and is sung in a local dialect. The popular *Tale of Lychees and a Mirror* is its play. The story is fictitious. However, this kind of play creates a salacious climate to a large extent. Men and women gather round to watch. It is not very graceful behaviour.
> 澎地演劇，俗名：「七子班」，仍係泉、廈傳來。演唱土音，即俗所傳《荔鏡傳》，皆子虛之事。然此等曲本，最長淫風，男婦聚觀，殊非雅道。[9]

Compared with this case, *An-ping-kuan tsap-ki* suddenly adopts a panoramic view. The ambition was to introduce classical theatre, which was an important part of native customs, to the newly arriving Japanese.[10] Therefore, for the first time, every kind of

[8] The source is in the chapter of "Fengsu xiankuang" 風俗現況 (The Status Quo of Custom). The book is now collected in *Taiwan wenxian congkan*.
[9] The source is in Chapter Nine, "Fengsu, Fengshang" 風俗，風尚 (Vogue, Custom) of *Penghuting zhi*. The book is now collected in *Taiwan wenxian congkan*.
[10] The editor of *Taiwan wenxian congkan* discussed the edited and published time and background of

classical theatre needed to be clearly listed. In other words, the occurrence of this panoramic description was directly caused by the coming of a non-Chinese governing group. If *An-ping-kuan tsap-ki* was not completed after Qing rule, it would probably have continued the traditional writing of the previous local gazetteers. Although *An-ping-kuan tsap-ki* was broadly valued by previous researchers, they overlooked the fact that it was completed in a new era and that it shows a new type of strategy.

After *An-ping-kuan tsap-ki*, native people continued to record classical theatre, but via a whole new media—newspapers, which also came with new colonizers. According to Hsu Ya-Hsiang, during the Japanese colonial period, there were about 11 newspapers or magazines that covered classical theatre: *Taiwan shinpō* 臺灣新報 (Taiwan News), *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, *Tainan shinpō* 臺南新報 (Tainan News), *Taiwan minhō* 臺灣民報 (Taiwan People News), *Taiwan shinminhō* 台灣新民報 (Taiwan New People News), *San roku kyū shōhō* 三六九小報 (369 News), *Fūgetsu* 風月 (Wind and Moon), *Taiwan geijutsu shinpō* 臺灣藝術新報 (Taiwan Artistic News), *Fūgetsuhō* 風月報 (Wind and Moon News), *Nanpō* 南方 (South), *Minzoku Taiwan* 民俗臺灣 (Folk Taiwan).[11]

The new media was obviously popular among local Taiwanese writers. Chinese sections in Japanese newspapers or Chinese newspapers became the major medium for recording classical theatre. It is easy to see why newspapers were welcome. The special characteristics of this new media gave rise to a new way of describing classical theatre. It provided a large space for prompt news of individual plays, and

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this local gazetteer. As the editor indicated, when it comes to China, the narrator adopted a turn of expression for foreigners. Besides, the newly arriving Japanese requested local intellectuals to edit local introductions as *An-ping-kuan tsap-ki* for their immediate need for administration.

[11] Hsu Ya-Hsiang, *Rizhi shiqi Taiwan xiqu,* pp. 214-224.

for reports of individual troupes and actors. It also provided a large space for individual audiences to express their opinions about individual performances, troupes and actors. Moreover, it provided a space for discussion or even for debate among audiences. Records and descriptions of classical theatre became an individual subject. Further, as Liao Ping-Hui points out, "newspapers […] opened up possibilities for Taiwanese readers to connect with the outside world and to acquire a standardized modern vocabulary."[12] The standardized modern vocabularies were also employed in discourses and debates about Taiwanese classical theatre. Undoubtedly, this new type of media led to a significant revolution.

Hsu has shown that the subjects on classical theatre in newspapers or magazines consisted of: 1. news of performances; 2. comments on performances; 3. education about classical theatre; 4. news of the building or rebuilding commercial theatres; 5. activities of amateur theatrical or music clubs; 6. the public voice of banning classical theatre; 7. culture of classical theatre.[13] Hsu provides a good classification. Nevertheless, he did not further discover that the classification shows an idea of "theatrical status" in that period. That is, the value and importance of every genre of theatre were differentiated. This differentiation might obstruct the study of Taiwanese classical theatre.

The "culture of classical theatre" was general and broad description, and did not indicate a specific genre; therefore we will not discuss it. In terms of other classifications, before the 1920s, when local troupes began frequently to perform in commercial theatres, "performance news" and "news of building or rebuilding

[12] Liao Ping-Hui, "Print Culture," p. 90.
[13] Hsu Ya-Hsiang, *Rizhi shiqi Taiwan xiqu,* pp. 224-246.

commercial theatres" usually had nothing to do with Taiwanese classical theatre. Commercial theatres were built for Japanese and Chinese troupes. "Performance news" was especially for troupes from China. The news was also a kind of advertisement. Therefore, performing troupes, players, venues and plays, and so on, would be introduced clearly. By contrast, local classical theatre mostly appeared in the reports of folk and religious festivals, especially *phóo-tōo* 普渡 (Ghost Festival, a ceremony to save all ghosts)[14] and *tsò-tsiò* 做醮 (services of sacrifice to deities). For Taiwanese classical theatre, there was no performance news; the relevant reports were rather subsidiary to festival news. Therefore, troupes, players or plays would not be reported. This kind of description is not that different from those in local gazetteers of the Qing rule. But compared to the rough and indistinct illustrations under the Qing, reports in this era were clear and more detailed with regard to performance genre and location of performance. Different from the general and sketchy descriptions in local gazetteers of Qing rule, each individual performance was reported on.

Throughout the colonial period, the "comments on performances" often focused on troupes from China, mainly those of Bejing opera, or sometimes on local Beijing opera troupes. "Education about classical theatre" only provided information about Beijing opera.[15] Obviously, aesthetic discussion did not extend to local classical theatre. For local Taiwanese writers' minds, the aesthetic conception did not apply to local classical theatre.

The "Activities of amateur theatrical or music clubs" is another interesting case. Amateur theatrical or music clubs were of a higher social class than professional

[14] It is on the 15th day of the seventh lunar month.
[15] Hsu, op.cit., pp. 236-238.

troupes, because players were viewed as a lowly job, and they were considered inferior to members of amateur clubs, whose careers were seen as normal. Amateur theatrical activities were considered elegant taste, while professional performances were not. Therefore, these kinds of reports should not be mixed up with those of professional troupes, though many researchers do not separate them.

"The public voice of banning classical theatre" was particularly "exclusive" to three kinds of local classical theatre, *tshia-koo*, *cai-ca* and *kua-a.* On this issue, we find the same opinions among the authorities, representatives of which were police officers, traditional intellectuals who had received a Chinese education, and a new generation of intellectuals who had received a modern Japanese education. The attitudes of the last group were the strictest, sometimes even stricter than those of police officers. The reason was not as simple as the "Japanization of Taiwanese," but was rather complicated. Hsu argues that traditional intellectuals did not oppose all native classical theatre; instead, they would only oppose "lewd plays" (*îm-hì* 淫戲). But Hsu does not consider that only these three kinds of theatre would be attacked for having romantic or "lewd" plays. In fact, other kinds of theatre in Taiwan or those from China did not guarantee a "non-lewd" content. Sometimes there were also suggestive plots or lyrics. Therefore, the content was not the most crucial question; instead, the decisive factor was the theatrical status. When what was perceived to be a high class of theatre, such as Beijing opera, had similar content, it would not become a target to be attacked.

Based on comments, critics or reports in newspapers, Beijing opera was often classified as the highest class of theatre; the lowest class of theatre was often *tshia-koo*, *cai-ca* and *kua-a*. Other kinds of native theatre were often classified higher

than these three kinds; however, compared to Beijing opera, they were still seen as a lower class. Further, although they escaped the charge of being lewd, they still could not avoid criticism for being hackneyed or backward.

The opinion on the status of a particular theatrical form further turned into a mindset of disregard for local classical theatre, which is illustrated in the three cases below. In 1899, the term "theatrical plays of this island" (*pún-tó hì-tshut* 本島戲齣) appeared in the Chinese section on *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*[16] for the first time, which is not seen in *An-ping-kuan tsap-ki* or earlier sources. The author only claims that "theatrical plays of the island are certainly not worth appreciation" (本島戲齣固不足觀) and do not offer any further explanation. In the 1900s, the terms "theatrical circle in Taiwan" (Taiwan *hì-kài* 臺灣戲界) and "theatrical circle on the island" (*hontō gekikai*; *pún-tó kio̍k-kài* 本島劇界) appeared in the newspapers more frequently. However, the reports and comments had nothing to do with "theatre in Taiwan" or "theatre on the island," but were all about the "theatre from outside of Taiwan" or the "theatre from outside of the island," namely troupes from China. This was a common situation in the Chinese section of newspapers at that time.

On 22nd November, 1907, the Chinese section of *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* published an article by Hué-lông 悔儂,[17] "A History of Taiwanese Classical Theatre." (Taiwan hì-khik tsi iân-kik 臺灣戲曲之沿革). If we read it carefully, we are able to find that the most of the text is actually not about native classical theatre, but rather "high class" troupes taken or invited from China by people from high society, such as "Sun Kaihua, Provincial Military Commander" (*tidu* Sun Kaihua 提督孫開華 (?-1893)),

[16] *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō,* Mar. 19, 1899, p. 6.
[17] It is a pen name. The real name of the author is unknown.

"Liu Mingchuan, Taiwan Governor" (*taifu* Liu Mingchuan 臺撫劉銘傳 (1836-1896)) or the "gentlemen and merchants in Tuā-tiū-tiânn" (Tuā-tiū-tiânn *sin-siong* 大稻埕紳商). As for local classical theatre, he merely says:

> Theatre in Taiwan simply originated from China. However, music which is used in the theatre, only consists of *erfan*, *se-phî*, *hok-loo*, *kunqiang* and another two or three kinds of folk songs. So-called southern lyrics, northern tune or *bangziqiang* are never heard. Even *tio-tiau* and *lam-kuan* are from Zhangzhou troupes, as well as from *lāu-hì* and *tshit-tsu-pan* of Quanzhou."
>
> 臺灣梨園無非本於支那。然所用戲曲僅二凡、西皮、福祿、崑腔及二三小調而已。未聞有所謂南詞、北調、梆子腔者。即潮調、南管，亦漳州班及泉州老戲、七子班所用者。[18]

In the author's mind, since Taiwanese classical theatre originated from China, it was no other than Chinese theatre. His conclusion is:

> To view Taiwanese theatre, it is not unworthy of appreciation. Because the time changes and the trends are different, experienced players fade away and there is a lack of successors. The situation is getting worse. Now is the dreariest time. If there are no more people coming forward to organize troupes again, before long, there will be nothing left for sure!"
>
> 顧臺灣之梨園，非無可觀。因時異勢殊，老成凋謝，繼起無人，愈趨愈下；至今日冷落已極。苟非有人出而重整之，則不數年間必無遺類矣。[19]

[18] *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō,* Nov. 22, 1907, p. 3.
[19] Ibid.

The writer laments the decline of high class theatre in Taiwan: there had been few people learning and performing it. The native genres, which *An-ping-kuan tsap-ki* had introduced string puppetry, glove puppetry, shadow theatre, *xi-pin*, *tshia-koo* and *cai-ca*, were all out of his sight. No wonder he wrote such a strange conclusion, when local classical theatre was in fact flourishing.

This situation resulted from the arrival of two groups of external theatre, Japanese theatre and Chinese theatre, during the colonial period. Both groups included traditional and modern kinds. Compared with them, distinctions between native classical theatres were perhaps removed from writers' minds. No matter how many kinds there were, or how different their histories and characteristics were, all were considered to be the same: not progressive, and something that was either to be banned or abandoned.

Under these circumstances, Taiwanese writers could hardly come up with an idea to construct a framework for classical theatre. Therefore, according to Hsu's classification, there could not be a classification for "introductions to classical theatre in Taiwan." In fact, after *An-ping-kuan tsap-ki,* it is difficult to find similar works by local writers until the 1930s. Furthermore, we see that although new terms, such as "theatrical circle in Taiwan" or "Taiwanese classical theatre," were coined, local writers did not frame a concept of classical theatre that belonged specifically to Taiwan. The concepts of these terms were indistinct or ambiguous. They could sometimes refer to native theatre, but more often they referred to the performances of Beijing opera in Taiwan. Not until the 1920s would this condition change, and it was affected by the Japanese, which will be discussed in the following sections.

III. Japanese' investigations into Taiwan in the colonial time

Apart from local Taiwanese, the Japanese in Taiwan also left many descriptions of native classical theatre. These descriptions were entirely different from the local writers' descriptions. Most important of all, the Japanese writers built a framework for native classical theatre. As was suggested above, native writers' works almost did not involve knowledge of native classical theatre.

Undoubtedly, the framework for classical theatre study was started at a particular time and with a new regime. The Japanese government was extremely ambitious, entirely different from the passive Qing government. As the first and also the only Asian empire beginning a colonial enterprise, the Japanese colonizers desired ardently to show that they were able to be as progressive as Western empires, which was certainly a central idea of the Meiji Restoration. Taiwan was their first colony, and was to become a model.[20] How to dominate this whole new territory, especially when it was their first colony? For the Japanese colonizers, "full knowledge (the ability to explain) and training were essential when entering an unknown environment"[21] and the most reliable and trustworthy tool was science. A scientific education was also the focus in Meiji era.[22] The officials who were sent to Taiwan, from the Governors-General to the lowest officials, undoubtedly received this kind of education. The most famous representative was Goto Shimpei 後藤新平 (1857-1929). He had previously studied medicine in Germany. In 1898, Governor-General Kodama Gentaro 兒玉源太郎 (1852-1906) designated Goto as the chief of civil administration.[23] Goto advocated the *seibutsugaku gensoku* 生物學原則 (biological principle) for effective dominion.

[20] Leo T. S. Ching, *Becoming Japanese,* pp. 16-18; Fu Chao-Ching, op.cit., p. 173.
[21] Liao Hsin-Tien, "The Beauty of the Untamed," p. 44.
[22] About the modern education in Meiji era, please refer to: Totman, *A New History of Japan,* pp. 298-299; Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan,* pp. 105-108; Tipton, *Modern Japan,* pp. 44-48.
[23] Ng Chiautong, *Taiwan Zongdufu,* p. 83.

The central idea was that in order to effectively dominate a colony, it was first necessary to understand it. The best way was to adopt a scientific method to investigate and study Taiwan, both in the humanities and its nature.[24] Goto is generally believed to have started the climate of investigation and research. However, before Goto went to Taiwan, an earlier investigation had already begun.[25] After the Kodama-Goto era (1898-1906), various kinds of officials or private research continued steadily.[26] Therefore, to study Taiwan was rather brought about by the general thought of valuing science from Meiji era, rather than by a specific person.[27]

The three most important areas of interest in the Japanese colonial period were population, land and customs. Each of these areas included many subjects, and were carried out many times or continued for several years throughout the colonial period. Yao Jen-to suggests that Taiwan was the most thoroughly investigated colony in the world. The basic reason was the Japanese colonizers' desire, or rather "anxiety," to show the Western world their civilization and progress. Furthermore, by investigating and gathering statistics, not a piece of land, a person and a kind of activity would be lost in their view. This would then confirm their dominion.[28] Like Liao Hsin-Tien's suggestion that the creation of map is a metaphorical vocabulary of possession,[29] the investigation of Taiwanese customs can also be viewed as a form of declaration to possess Taiwan.

IV. Japanese' observations of native customs in Taiwan

[24] Chang Lung-chih, "Cong 'jiuguan' dao 'minsu,'" p. 40-41.
[25] Cheng Cheng-chen, *Taiwan da diaocha,* p. 42-45.
[26] Chang Lung-chih, op.cit., p. 42.
[27] Yao Jen-to, "The Japanese Colonial State," pp. 45-46; "Renshi Taiwan," pp. 146-147.
[28] Yao, "The Japanese Colonial State," pp. 48-49; 52-54; "Renshi Taiwan," pp. 142-143; 153-154; 160; 166.
[29] Liao Hsin-Tien, op.cit., p. 45.

The study of classical theatre was mostly related to the study of customs, especially during the Japanese colonial period. The two typical studies of customs were the establishment of the Taiwanese Customs Study Association (Taiwan Kanshū Kenkyūkai 臺灣慣習研究會) and Rinji Taiwan Kyoeki Chōsakai 臨時臺灣舊慣調查會 (Temporary Taiwanese Old Customs Investigation Council). The former was a non-official society, but the majority of its members were officials. The latter was a governmental institution. Both were directly connected with Goto. He was the vice-president of the Taiwanese Customs Study Association (the president was Governor-General Kodama) and the president of the Temporary Taiwanese Old Customs Investigation Council. The association lasted from 1900 to 1907. It published the journal, *Taiwan kanshū kiji* 臺灣慣習記事 (Taiwanese Customs Accounts), which is a classic work of the colonial period. The council lasted from 1901 to 1919. It also published many important studies about the legal system during Qing rule and about the Taiwanese aboriginal peoples.[30] In addition to *Taiwan kanshū kiji*, over the colonial period, there were many other journals carrying articles about local customs. The major journals were *Taiwan dogo sōshi* 臺灣土語叢誌 (Taiwanese Native languages Records), *Shinsen Taiwan kaiwa mondō* 新撰臺灣會話問答 (A New Edition of Taiwanese Conversations, Questions and Answers),[31] *Goen*, *Taiwan Kyōikukai zasshi* 臺灣教育會雜誌 (Journal of Taiwanese Education Association), *Taiwan kyōiku* 臺灣教育 (Taiwanese Education), *Taihō geppō* 臺法月報 (Taiwanese Legal Monthly News), *Taiwan Keisatsu Kyōkai zasshi* 臺灣警察協會雜誌 (Journal of Taiwanese Police Association), *Taiwan keisatsu jihō* 臺灣警察時報 (Taiwanese Police Times),[32] *Taiwan jihō* and *Minzoku Taiwan*. This reflects the trend in studying local Taiwanese customs throughout Japanese colonial period; even during

[30] Chang Lung-chih, op.cit., pp. 38-39.
[31] It was renamed from *Taiwan dogo sōshi*.
[32] It was a new version of *Taiwan Keisatsu Kyōkai zasshi*.

the war, when the government carried out intense Japanization policy.

The researchers were officials, and police officers in particular formed a large proportion. Some were translators in courthouses. They were on the front line of the imperial government and were usually in direct contact with local people. To study local customs would help their work. As officers of the empire, their achievements in their research could further help the dominion of the empire. Therefore, perhaps this kind of research was always encouraged.

Comparing Japanese officials with the previous Qing officials, we see that the Qing officials did not have a particular interest in local knowledge. This is clearly revealed in their private writings from Taiwan. Even local gazetteers merely contain which was immediately useful for administration.[33] Officials such as Yu Yonghe or Zhu Jingying were unusual exceptions. The Japanese officials, however, had much stronger motives in exploring the local cultures. Their investigating activities revealed a belief in science. This new belief was an important characteristic of modernization. In the colonial context, to study local culture was especially significant. To the colonizers, it was the foundation of successful colonization. In section VI below, when it comes to the study of local theatre, we will see how the biological or scientific principle was put into practice and why the colonizers considered the study related to colonization.

V. The connections among the studies of customs, languages and native classical theatre

Researchers into Taiwanese classical theatre were often researchers into native

[33] Lin Kai-shyh, op.cit., p. 21.

customs, such as Fūzan Dō 風山堂 (fl. late 1890s-1921 in Taiwan), Takeuchi Sadayoshi 武內貞義 (fl. 1910-1930 in Taiwan), Kataoka Iwao 片岡巖 (fl. 1905-1922 in Taiwan), Yamane Yūzō 山根勇藏 (fl. 1900-1928 in Taiwan), Suzuki Seiichirō 鈴木清一郎 (fl. 1923-1937 in Taiwan) and Tōhō Takayoshi. Additionally, some were researchers or teachers of local Taiwanese languages as well, such as Fūzan Dō, Kataoka, Suzuki, Tōhō and Lîm Kak-thài 林覺太 (fl. 1900-1920). It was naturally connected to their offices. These police and judicial officials were the pioneers of linguistic study in Taiwan. Among these researchers, Fūzan Dō, Kataoka and Tōhō were representatives.

The three authors played important roles in construction of the study of native classical theatre. The first author, Fūzan Dō, was a pen name. Today we only know that his surname is Watanabe 渡邊. He was also a *haiku* poet[34] and wrote the fictional "Ganwarai hana" 含笑花 (A Smiling Flower) in local Taiwanese languages.[35] In 1901, Fūzan Dō published "Haiyū to engeki" 俳優と演劇 (Actors and Theatre) in *Taiwan kanshū kiji*. Earlier in 1899-1900, he often contributed to *Taiwan dogo sōshi* and later *Shinsen Taiwan kaiwa mondō*. His articles included linguistics and local customs as well.

Kataoka was a translator at the Tainan District Court (Tainan Chihō Hōin 臺南地方法院). In 1921, Kataoka published *Taiwan fūzoku shi* 臺灣風俗誌 (A Record of Taiwanese Customs). The fifth chapter is about local classical theatre, "Taiwan no engeki" 臺灣の演劇 (Taiwanese Theatre). The book is a collection of his articles

[34] His poems were published in *Taiwan Kyōikukai zasshi* in 1903, the 21st volume.
[35] His surname and fiction was mentioned in the preface of a fiction: "Koi no Ra Fukuboshi" 戀の羅福星 (Ra Fukuboshi in love) by Sōan 草庵 on *Goen* in March, 1914.

from the 1910s about native customs in *Taihō geppō* and *Taiwan kyōiku*.[36] The earlier volumes, *Taiwan fūzoku* 臺灣風俗 (Taiwanese Customs) were published in 1913 and 1914 by the Taiwango Kenkyūkai 臺灣語研究會 (Taiwanese Linguistics Association). Additionally, his book *Nichitai rigen shōkai* 日臺俚諺詳解 (Taiwanese to Japanese Dictionary of Taiwanese Proverbs) is also representative of his work. He also wrote *Taiwan bunkan futsū shiken dogo mondai kaitōhō* 臺灣文官普通試驗土語問題解答法 (Methods for Answering Native Languages Questions in the Taiwanese Civil Official General Examination) (1916).

Tōhō was undoubtedly the most productive of these researchers. He was an official instructor of Taiwanese languages at the Training Institute for Police and Judicial Officers. (Keisatsu Kyū Shigokukan Renshūsho 警察及司獄官練習所). From the 1920s to the 1940s, he steadily published more than 400 articles in *Goen*, *Taihō geppō*, *Taiwan Keisatsu Kyōkai zasshi*, *Taiwan keisatsu jihō*, *Taiwan jihō, Minzoku Taiwan*, *Taiwan Gogaku Kenkyūkai kaihō* 臺灣語學研究會會報 (Journal of Taiwanese Linguistic Study Association) and *Minami no hoshi* 南の星 (The Southern Star). These articles consisted of linguistic studies, studies of local customs and teaching materials for Taiwanese languages. His studies of customs were collected and published as *Taiwan shūzoku* 臺灣習俗 (Taiwanese Customs) in 1942. He also edited *Tainichi shin jisho* 臺日新辭書 (New Taiwanese to Japanese Dictionary) (1931). His studies about local classical theatre: "Taiwan no engeki" 臺灣の演劇 (Taiwanese Theatre) was previously serialized in *Taiwan jihō* from 1936 to 1937, and

[36] It is uncertain whether "Taiwanese no engeki" was firstly published on journals, because around remaining journals of Japanese colonial period, there is no such an article from Kataoka. In the chapter on "Taiwanese Theatre," Kataoka mentioned that a "Taiwan *shingeki*" 台灣新劇 (Taiwanese new theatre) troupe of Takamatsu Toyojirō was travelling to perform when he wrote the article. Takamatsu's troupe was active from 1910 to 1915. However Kataoka also introduced "female theatre," which appeared in 1918. Therefore we can see that Kataoka began to write on this topic between 1910 and 1915, and finished this chapter after 1918.

then collected in *Taiwan shūzoku.*

The background to the above authors shows that the study of classical theatre was included in the study of local customs, and that this was usually connected with linguistic studies. *Taiwan dogo sōshi* and *Goen* look like linguistic journals, but apparently the study of customs was an important subject as well, not subordinate in these journals. Similarly, the Taiwanese Linguistics Association published *Taiwan shūzoku*. In addition to studies of local customs, the government also paid considerable attention to language training for officials. The lower officials, especially police officers, had to have a qualification in the local languages. Linguistic study was undoubtedly encouraged as well as it also corresponded to a central idea for effective dominion—you have to understand first. To understand languages was naturally indispensable.

The policy might unexpectedly have provided a good tool for research on classical theatre. Qing officials who were sent to Taiwan did not understand very well the local languages; even if some of them occasionally had an interest in recording local classical theatre, language was a barrier. As Yu Yonghe and Zhu Jingying had said, they were unable to understand the languages on stage. Further, it was also impossible for them to communicate with local people to get further information. Therefore, the records of Yu and Zhu are limited to an "outline." Instead, Japanese officials were not only bystanders, as were Qing recorders. For the studies into customs, they directly consulted local people. In terms of the classical theatre study, their approach was the same. In other words, they began to adopt a new method, interviews. This was why they were able to record much more details than previous narrators. At the primary stage, they might rely on Taiwanese people who were able to speak Japanese. But

later, some officers like Kataoka and Tōhō might use their language ability in their research. Although not so apparent, it was reasonable that the linguistic studies may have also helped classical theatre studies, which may be reflected in the three representative researchers mentioned above.

VI. The construction of the study and concept of Taiwanese classical theatre

For over 42 years during the colonial period before the war, new ways of observing and describing were constantly being developed. Compared to the records of over 212 years of Qing rule, Japanese researchers explored local classical theatre to an unprecedented degree.

At the beginning, Japanese relied on introductions by people in Taiwan. For example, in addition to *An-ping-kuan tsap-ki,* in the 1897 *Taiwan jijō* 臺灣事情 (Taiwanese Things), the theatre section is cited from George Leslie Mackay's 1895 *From Far Formosa*.[37] Nevertheless, before long, the Japanese began to observe Taiwanese theatre by themselves. In 1899, *Taiwan kiyō* 台灣紀要 (An Outline of Taiwan) by Murakami Tamakichi 村上玉吉 (fl. 1899-1940 in Taiwan) first introduces the size of the glove puppets and indicates the roles and plays of glove puppet theatre were the same as those of general theatre, as well as the main theme being war. In addition to puppet theatre, it also first mentions the make-up of players in general theatre.[38]

[37] See Matsushima Tsuyoshi and Satō Hiroshi, *Taiwan jijō,* pp. 2-3; 178-179; and Mackay, *From Far Formosa*, p. 118.
[38] Murakami Tamakichi, *Taiwan kiyō,* p. 114.

"Haiyū to engeki" by Fūzan Dō in 1901 is certainly a milestone.[39] It was published in *Taiwan kanshū kiji,* the journal of Taiwanese Customs Study Association. To members of the association, the purpose of study was for legislation in the colony.[40] From Qing introductions to *An-ping-kuan tsap-ki*, the descriptions of classical theatre were a type of "note." It was subsidiary to poems, to records of seasonal festivals, or to the records of customs in the local gazetteer. In *Taiwan kiyō*, the introduction to classical theatre expanded to a paragraph. However, it was still subsidiary to a chapter on customs or social life in the book. The work of Fūzan Dō is the first individual article to describe more fully classical theatre. From then on, classical theatre was able to be viewed as an individual subject, and could be studied independently.

Fūzan Dō first outlines "three types of troupes" (戲班の三種), which were organized and operated in different ways. He then describes the actors' lifestyles and different income levels of different roles. After that, he introduces "other types of troupes" (戲班の別種), including *cai-ca* and puppet theatre. Moreover, for the first time, the article introduces roles, forms and, further, different music and languages of different forms. In the section "genres of theatre" (演劇の種類), the author introduces *lan-than, xi-pin, káu-kah* 九甲 (literally "mixture"), *peh-li-hi, tshia-koo* and glove puppetry. Although the concepts of "troupe" and "genre" were not yet clear, the content of the article was still ground-breaking. He also records the origins of classical theatre that local people claimed. Fūzan Dō was also able to distinguish the different themes between general theatre and children's theatre. In fact, later researchers, including local people, almost considered there to be no differences.

[39] Fūzan Dō, "Haiyū to engeki," pp. 23-30.
[40] Cheng Cheng-chen, op.cit., pp. 62-64.

In 1909, YI Sei, YI 生 (Mr. YI) published an article, "Taiwan no Kando ni gyōharuru engeki" 臺灣の漢人に行はるる演劇 (Theatre which is Conducted by Han Chinese in Taiwan) in *Tokyo Jinrui Gakukai zasshi* 東京人類學會雜誌 (The Journal of the Anthropological Society of Tokyo).[41] YI Sei was the pen name of Inō Yoshinori 伊能嘉矩 (1867-1925). It was the first formal academic essay about classical theatre in Taiwan and analyzed the relationship between classical theatre and local autonomy, and the social education function of classical theatre during Qing rule. It first summarizes some plays. Compared to the sketchy description of the theme in *Taiwan kiyō*, Inō further introduces individual plays. It made considerable progress because Inō recorded concrete content. In terms of theatrical genres, he directly cites "genres of theatre" in "Haiyū to engeki." Inō later added many sources from the Qing era into this article, and collected the article in his classic work, *Taiwan bunka shi* 台灣文化誌 (Taiwan – A Cultural History) (1928).

In 1913, a Taiwanese by the name of Kua Ting-thiú 柯丁丑 (1889-1979) published an article, "Taiwan no geki ni tsuite" 臺灣の劇に就いて (About Taiwanese Theatre) in *Taiwan Kyōikukai zasshi*.[42] Kua was a student at the Tokyo School of Music (Tokyo Ongaku Gakkō 東京音樂學校). He wrote the article in Japanese. Since Kua received Japanese higher education, he belonged to the new intelligentsia in Taiwanese society. He used a new language and a new knowledge system, which was conveyed through this new language, to observe the classical theatre in his own society.

In the article, he introduces: 1. the purpose of playing classical theatre; 2. the costs of

[41] Inō Yoshinori, "Kando ni gyōharuru engeki," pp. 143-148.
[42] Kua Ting-thiú, "Taiwan no geki ni tsuite," pp. 57-62.

general theatre and puppet theatre; 3. performance sessions and the length of time; 4. the construction of a temporary stage, the sizes of a general stage and a puppet stage; the position of a band and the backstage; 5. auditoriums for different genders; 6. terms and conditions when hiring a troupe; 7. registers of different roles; 8. music played before theatrical performances; 9. the ceremonial play before general plays; 10. the language of different classical theatre; 11. the training for players, especially those of children's theatre; 12. costumes and make-up. The author also mentions the coming of Chinese Beijing opera troupes and its scale. He also indicates that, under the influence of Chinese troupes, female actors appeared in local troupes from 1912.

In the article, the author indicates that general theatre included *peh-li-hi, kau-kah, xi-pin* and *lan-than.* Moreover, it first describes clearly and completely three kinds of puppet theatre: string puppetry, shadow theatre, and glove puppetry. The previous introductions by Murakami and Fūzan Dō were incomplete or inaccurate because Murakami only mentions glove puppetry and Fūzan Dō misunderstood that *tshia-koo* was a kind of puppet theatre, while he did not know of string puppet and shadow theatre. Kua Ting-thiú further classifies glove puppet theatre into *tio-tiau* and *lan-than* schools, according to accompanying music. This is the first accurate classification. Kua also first traces the origins of classical theatre in Taiwan. He presumes that children's theatre originated during the Tang dynasty (618-907), and string puppet theatre had originated during the Han dynasty (202 BC - AD 220).

Like Kua, there were occasionally Taiwanese authors writing in Japanese. When these Taiwanese researchers described classical theatre in Japanese, their writing style was different to the records of classical theatre written in Chinese during the same period. Instead, their style was like that of other Japanese writers. Here the role of local

people had changed. At the time when *An-ping-kuan tsap-ki* was written, the newly arrived governing class had to learn local customs from the locals themselves, but later, local Taiwanese writers, in turn, learnt the Japanese language or approaches to local classical theatre. They were taught the new methods of observation and transmitting knowledge. Meanwhile, the colonizer's view was instilled into them. Kua criticizes local theatre as not progressive and the actors as lacking in creativity. Their personal problems were to blame. That is, the players were ignorant and morally despicable. He considers theatre in cosmopolitan Japan to be the best. Kua's perspective was exactly the same as the colonizers.

The 1920s was arguably the most important period for the construction of classical theatre studies as a discipline. There was a large number of important works in this period. In 1921, *Taiwan fūzoku shi* by Kataoka was published. As a judicial officer, Kataoka's study was also for the need for legislation or trials. Chapter five of the book, "Taiwan no engeki,"[43] is another milestone in the construction of classical theatre study. The contributions were the following:

First, it combined the previous research achievements from Fūzan Dō, Inō and Kua, and further established a very clear structure for every aspect of knowledge of classical theatre. He divides the chapter on "Taiwanese Theatre" into many sections: 1. troupes; 2. operators; 3. teachers and students; 4. actors; 5. make-up; 6. costumes; 7. stage properties; 8. stages; 9. languages of theatre; 10. symbols; 11. bands; 12. genres of theatre; 13. plays; 14. summaries of plays; 15. plays for different occasions; 16. the sequence of a performance; 17. "a play" and "an act;" 18. audiences; 19. the future of theatre. In every section, the author gives the clearest and the most thorough

[43] Kataoka Iwao, *Taiwan fūzoku shi,* pp. 196-216.

explanations of that time.

Second, in the 12th section, “genres of theatre,” Kataoka first systematically lists every kind of classical theatre and summarizes each kind. They were: general theatre, female theatre, children theatre, amateur theatre, *cai-ca, tshia-koo,* shadow theatre, glove puppet theatre and string puppet theatre. The 9th section, “languages of theatre,” describes *peh-li-hi, kau-kah, xi-pin, lan-than* and *kua-a-hi.* It is the first time that *kua-a-hi* was introduced in theatre study. Kataoka’s work was the most complete introduction so far.

Third, Kataoka continued to add many details about native classical theatre. He mentions the teachers of classical theatre and explains the social status of the actors clearly. For the first time, he introduces the patterns of symbolic actions, symbolic stage properties and settings, as well as listing clearly every item of costume and stage properties (especially weapons). He is first to give a clear explanation of the unit of performances: a play and an act. He lists the largest numbers of plays. And in the section, “summaries of plays,” he cites a part of a Chinese script, *Kongcheng ji* 空城計 (A Stratagem of Empty Fortress). This way of writing had not been seen before.

In the section of “plays for different occasions,” for the first time, the author records specific plays for specific occasions—plays which would be chosen to celebrate a new birth, weddings, birthdays, opening a new business, worship, or at funerals. He also describes the complete sequences in a performance: before and after general plays, there were many other ceremonial plays as well. In fact, two subjects: “plays for different occasions” and “the sequence of a performance,” were unseen in later works, even in the post-war period. This kind of tradition was already lost in the latter

half of the 20th century; even fieldwork will not find traces of this disappearing tradition. Therefore, Kataoka has preserved the most complete record.

Since the book was the most thorough and detailed so far, later, many introductions in fact cited Kataoka's work directly. The framework he built was also very likely to have influenced the *Taiwan ni okeru Shina engeki kyū Taiwan engekichō* 臺灣に於ける支那演劇及臺灣演劇調 (Chinese Theatre in Taiwan and Taiwanese Theatre), published by the Government-General in 1927.

However, Kataoka's perspective was a typical colonizer's. He took the form of modern theatre as a standard to evaluate local theatre. He criticizes the temporary stage and backstage as old and rough, and costumes as dirty, that the accompanying bands also sat on stage and the players did not concentrate on the roles or plots. To him, these characteristics meant unprogressive. He did not have an interest in tracing the deeper reasons, for example, social, cultural and historical factors that shaped different types of theatre. He merely attributes to players lax morals and lack of artistic appreciation. In his opinion, Takamatsu's production was the way to save Taiwanese theatre.

In 1925, Ueyama Gisaku 上山儀作 (?-?) published "Taiwan geki ni tsuisuru kōsatsu" 臺灣劇に對する考察 (An Observation on Taiwanese Theatre) in *Taiwan Keisatsu Kyōkai zasshi*.[44] The most important contribution of Ueyama was to describe the changes to classical theatre in Taiwan. He indicates that first, female theatre (*joyū geki* 女優劇) was increasingly popular everywhere on the island. Second, from late 1918, a new type of classical theatre that had adopted local

[44] Ueyama Gisaku, "Taiwan geki ni tsuisuru kōsatsu," pp. 86-100.

languages had appeared in Hakka societies, and had spread to southern Hokkien societies.

In the article, the author describes the religious function of classical theatre and the relationship between classical theatre and religion. After Kua Ting-thiú had traced the origin of classical theatre, he continued to analyze the development of Chinese traditional theatre from the Tang to Qing dynasties. After previous works had outlined many plays, he first divides plays into two kinds. One kind originated from Chinese novels, and therefore had many episodes. The other was from "song books" (*kua-a tsheh* 歌仔冊), which were sold in markets and stalls. This kind of play only had a single episode. Meanwhile, Ueyama lists the novels and song books which were often adapted to plays. In the section of "plays and summaries," he first describes two plays with local themes: *Nâ-tâu tsí* 林投姐 (Madam Pandanus) and *Taipei kî-àn* 臺北奇案 (A Surprising Case in Taipei).

Ueyama clearly explains the purpose for studying local theatre. He found that Taiwanese people were generally fascinated by theatre. Therefore, theatre was likely to have a religious power. This power can stimulate a person's mind and influence society. Ueyama thought there was a deep connection between local theatre and the subtle mentality of the Taiwanese people. People might conceal their state of mind to the colonizers, but local theatre would expose it. Therefore, to explore local theatre was an effective way for the colonizers to approach the deeper mentality of the colonized.

In 1926, a student at the Training Institute for Police and Judicial Officers, who used

the pen name Hayakaha Sei はやかは生,[45] submitted "Kyōran chichō no gi" 狂蘭痴蝶の戯 (A Play of Fanatical Orchids and Infatuated Butterflies) to *Taiwan Keisatsu Kyōkai zasshi*.[46] This article describes his experience of watching a *kua-a-hi* play. This performance was organized by the North Police Office (北警署). Police officers and students were called to watch. The intention was to establish a principle for managing local theatre by watching a real play. It suggested a theatre censor.

In the preceding year, Ueyama had still not yet used the term "*kua-a-hi*;" he referred instead to "reformed theatre." In Kyōran chichō no gi, the term *kua-a-hi* was clearly written at the beginning of the article. It was also a commentary, because the author indicates clearly what play he had seen. In this commentary, an early script appears. Before introducing the plot, roles and their names, their status and ages are listed. Then not only is the plot narrated, conversations between some of the characters are also recorded. This does not mean that there were no scripts in that period, but the scripts were for the private use of troupes or amateur clubs. Troupes needed to provide scripts to police officers for censorship, but the scripts were not open to the public, either. As Ueyama had described, there were song books sold in markets. Song books are not scripts, since there are only lyrics. This shows that there were no scripts in the markets. Until 1925, introducing summaries of plays had become usual, but the idea of introducing scripts publicly, for example, publishing them in a journal or selling them, had not yet formed.

In December, 1927, Yamane Yūzō analysed native classical theatre in his column, "Taiwan minzokusei hyakudan" 臺灣民族性百談 (A Hundred of Talks about

[45] The author's real name is unknown.
[46] Hayakaha Sei, "Kyōran chichō no gi," pp. 139-143.

Taiwanese Nationality) for *Taiwan Keisatsu Kyōkai zasshi*.[47] (The articles from this column were later collected and published as a book with the same name in 1930.) The author in particular discusses six topics: 1. Taiwanese hobbies in music and theatre; 2. amateur theatre; 3. the conflict between the amateur *se-phî* 西皮 (literally "western song style") and *hok-loo* theatre clubs in northern Taiwan; 4. the conflict between the amateur clubs of the *hian* 軒 (literally "studio") and *uân* 園 (literally "garden") in mid-Taiwan;[48] 5. the two theatrical deities, Tiân-too *guan-suè* 田都元帥 (General Tiân-too) and Se Tsîn *ông-iâ* 西秦王爺 (Prince of Western Tsîn);[49] 6. the two kinds of theatrical music: *pak-kuan* music and *lam-kuan* music. Because Yamane focused on specific topics of classical theatre, his introduction and analysis were deeper than previous works. The conflict between the *hian* and *uân* schools and the two theatrical deities were discussed for the first time.

It is also for the first time that a more positive perspective on going to the theatre in Taiwan was adopted. The author approves of the appreciation local people have for theatre and music. He also argues that to evaluate theatre in terms of "high" or "low" was mostly subjective. Furthermore, he considers theatre to be an important part of local culture. However, the author does not consider other sources for such evaluations, colonialism and modernization, as oppose to personal subjectivity. The change in perspective might be due to the policy change. In his period, the colonial government began to advocate integration between Japanese and Taiwanese.[50] Yamane might have reacted to this atmosphere and adopted a more moderate attitude

[47] Yamane Yūzō, *Taiwan minzokusei hyakudan*, pp. 1-24.
[48] Musical clubs named *hian* or *uân* were *beiguan* clubs. See Chiu Kun-Liang, *Piaolang wutai,* p. 201-202.
[49] According to Yamane, Prince of Western Tsîn was created from a historical exemplar, Emperor Xuanzong 玄宗 of Chinese Tang dynasty and General Tiân-too was created from a musician during Xuanzong's regime, Lei Haiqing 雷海清.
[50] Ng Chiautong, op.cit., pp. 150-151; Leo Ching, op.cit., p. 102.

in order to display “friendliness.”

Also in 1927, *Taiwan ni okeru Shina engeki kyū Taiwan engekichō* published by the Culture and Education Bureau, Government-General (Sotokufu Bunkyō Kyoku 總督府文教局) is the third milestone after Fūzan Dō and Kataoka. The editor was a local, Tân Tsuân-íng 陳全永 (fl. 1924-1937) and it was the first official investigation into classical theatre. The book introduces *xi-pin, lan-than, kau-kah, peh-li-hi, kua-a-hi,* and glove and string puppetry.

The contribution of this work is that it is independent from discussions of customs generally, and is an individual “book.” It continued to use the structure that had been established by Kataoka. The content also combined the contributions of Kataoka and Ueyama. In particular, since it was an official investigation, this study was able to investigate troupes throughout the whole island, which was unable to be organized by a single writer. The book lists the troupes of every form of classical theatre in every administrative division: *shu; tsiu* 州 (province) and *cho; thiann* 廳 (sub-province). Their representative plays and the number of days they performed in a year were also recorded. There was also a statistic for the total income of whole troupes in every *shu* and *cho*.

There was also a chapter entitled “Engeki no jitsusai moyō” 演劇の實際模様 (Actual appearance of a performance).” The form of this chapter was a script which the title does not indicate. It is the first time that a script was published in Taiwan. In previous works, in journals or books, there were only summaries of plays, instead of a complete script. The title, which was not written as “script” but the “actual appearance of a performance,” shows that the concept of a “script” was still being developed.

In 1932, Tân Tsuân-íng published "Taiwan shibai no hanashi" 台灣芝居の話 (A Talk on Taiwanese Theatre) on *Taiwan jihō*.[51] This article mainly summarizes *Taiwan ni okeru Shina engeki kyū Taiwan engekichō.* Nevertheless it classifies plays into four kinds, according to themes and performance characteristics. The four kinds were "civil plays," "war plays," "comic plays" and "dirty plays." Previous works, such as *Taiwan fūzoku shi*, only mention the terms "historical plays," "fictional plays," "realistic plays" and "comic plays," but did not give any further explanation. Tân, instead, defines the four kinds, and then categorizes the plays into the four kinds. This was unprecedented.

In 1936 and 1937, Tōhō Takayoshi published a series of articles: "Taiwan shūzoku—Taiwan no engeki" in *Taiwan jihō*.[52] He also uses Kataoka's framework and continues to provide more information and details after *Taiwan ni okeru Shina engeki kyū Taiwan engekichō.* Before the war, his introduction was a comprehensive classic.

His new contributions were the following: firstly, he began to establish classification methods. Although previous researchers would classify classical theatre, they were not very conscious of their classification approaches. Tōhō first notices this aspect. He points out that local people did not have a definite standard with which to classify classical theatre. They might distinguish classical theatre according to actors, organization of troupes, languages, or singing and musical styles. Therefore, it was

[51] Tân Tsuân-íng, "Taiwan shibai no hanashi," pp. 9-18. In 1936, Tân published a summary of the previous works again, in the issues of Sept, Oct and Dec of *Taiwan geijutsu shinpō*, but this time he did not add any new content.

[52] These articles are now collected in Rizhi shiqi *Taiwan shibao* ziliaoku.

difficult to clarify precisely. Tōhō first classifies theatre into themes and genres. In terms of genres, he separats amateur theatre from professional theatre. He further divides professional theatre into general theatre, including *lan-than, xi-pin, tshit-tsu-pan, kau-kah, peh-li-hi, kua-a-hi, cai-ca-hi, tshia-koo*, cultural theatre (*bunka geki; bûn-huà kio̍k* 文化劇), and puppet theatre, including glove puppetry, string puppetry and shadow theatre. General theatre was classified into Mandarin theatre, consisting of *lan-than* and *xi-pin,* and native Taiwanese language, consisting of *peh-li-hi, kua-a-hi, cai-ca-hi, tshia-koo,* and cultural theatre. Based on this classification method, Tōhō adds cultural theatre, a modern type of native theatre, into the system of Taiwanese theatre. Previous authors never considered modern theatre; Tōhō was the first to do so. It was reasonable, since cultural theatre was played in native languages, and Tōhō's classification standard was "languages," which could include modern types as well.

Secondly, he records a script, *A Woman with Two Husbands*. He clearly indicates this as a "script" (*kyakuhon* 脚本). The concept of the script was finally formed. He also clearly explains that it is a *peh-li-hi* script. The previously published script in *Taiwan ni okeru Shina engeki kyū Taiwan engekichō* was from Beijing opera. Therefore *A Woman with Two Husbands* is the first published local classical theatre script. Additionally, it is very likely to be the first published *kua-a-hi* script because *kua-a-hi* was sometimes called *peh-li-hi* from the 1920s, and *A Woman with Two Husbands* is a classic *kua-a-hi* play. Another title is *Hok-tsiu kî-àn* 福州奇案 (A Surprising Case in Fuzhou).

Thirdly, Tōhō introduces more plays of Taiwanese themes after Ueyama. He indicates that the newly developed Taiwanese classical theatre had begun to create new plays. It

is the first time that plays with Taiwanese themes were introduced individually and separated from Chinese themes. Further, he points out that those plays are *kua-a-hi*, whereas previous works do not explain the genres of plays.

Tōhō, like Yamane, took a more moderate attitude towards local classical theatre. He compares local classical theatre with Western opera, Japanese *kabuki* and *noh* theatre, and then notes the basic characteristic of these kinds of traditional theatre, whether in the Western or Eastern world. He finds that the singing and accompanying music was the key component for theatre, and that audiences paid attention more to that than to speech. In addition, he supposes that local classical theatre and *kabuki* had the same origin, according to the style of make-up. His viewpoint intends to suggest a connection between Taiwanese and Japanese classical theatre. It might be a first sign of later discourse in the *kominka* campaign, in which local classical theatre was connected with other Eastern and South-Eastern Asian theatre, in order to enhance the claim of a cultural circle in a Greater East Asia.

Tōhō's articles were completed on the eve of war and the wartime *kominka* campaign. It was the last pre-war introduction to classical theatre in Taiwan. Later, during the war, classical theatre was continuously introduced, discussed and analysed; relevant articles or books would still be continued to be published. However, under the very unusual circumstances of war, it was a different story.

The forms of theatre described in these studies are identical, as the table shows below:

Table 2-1 The genres described in the studies

Year	Author	Genres
1901	Fūzan Dō	*cai-ca, lan-than, xi-pin, kau-kah, peh-li-hi, tshia-koo* and glove puppet.
1913	Kua Ting-thiú	*peh-li-hi, kau-kah, xi-pin, lan-than,* string puppet, shadow theatre and glove puppet
1921	Kataoka Iwao	*peh-li-hi, kau-kah, xi-pin, lan-than, kua-a-hi, cai-ca, tshia-koo,* shadow theatre, glove puppet and string puppet
1927	Tân Tsuân-íng	*xi-pin, lan-than, kau-kah, peh-li-hi, kua-a-hi,* glove puppet and string puppet.
1936	Tōhō Takayoshi	*lan-than, xi-pin, tshit-tsu-pan, kau-kah, peh-li-hi, kua-a-hi, cai-ca-hi, tshia-koo,* cultural theatre, glove puppet, string puppet and shadow theatre

Some studies mention Beijing opera as well, but all of the authors clearly indicate that it was a "pure" Chinese theatre (純支那劇). In other words, different from native writers before the 1920s, these authors clearly distinguish between native, "Taiwanese theatre" (臺灣劇) and non-native, "Chinese" theatre (支那劇) in their works. This classification has been very influential. During the 1920s, the meaning of the terms "Taiwanese theatre" or "theatre of the island" in newspapers was narrowed to classical theatre in Taiwan, no longer including troupes from China. Then, in the 1930s, introductions to local classical theatre by local writers appeared once again, the representative work being Lian Heng's "Ngá-giân" 雅言 (Elegant Speech), which was a special column in *San roku kyū shōhō*.[53] This series of articles were written from 1933. The genres described by native writers were not different from the above

[53] This series of articles were collected to be a book with the same title in 1958, and now is collected in *Taiwan wenxian congkan*.

works written in Japanese. Moreover, the contents actually did not surpass the above works, either. Therefore, by this time, the definition of Taiwanese classical theatre, which was constructed through a series of researches, had become broadly accepted. The concept of Taiwanese classical theatre was by now entirely formed.

As these works show, the colonizers thought that local theatre could disclose the psychology of an ethno. If they could understand local theatre, they could understand the mentality of Taiwanese. However, why was it important to understand Taiwanese psychology and mentality? Leo Ching provides an explanation. He argues that, in terms of Taiwanese resistance and social movements, the colonizers did not examine the inequality in politics and economics between Taiwanese and Japanese and the autocracy of the Government-General. Instead, the colonizers ascribed it to the Taiwanese ethno-national nature. Based on this, the colonizers considered that understanding the Taiwanese ethno-national nature would allow them to understand the origin of Taiwanese resistance.[54] Therefore, Taiwanese customs, including theatrical activities, were investigated frequently and thoroughly.

However, it is exactly these investigations that constructed the concept of Taiwanese ethno-national nature or psychology. The investigations provided abundant "scientific" evidence for the discourse. The construction of Taiwanese nationality further supported the colonizers' assumption that resistance by those colonized resulted from their nature. Local people's customs were defined as having pre-modern or non-modern characteristics. Although these researchers often claimed that their research motive was to encourage mutual understanding between Taiwanese and Japanese, ironically, local theatre was often used as a counter-example of

[54] Leo Ching, op.cit., pp. 58-60.

modernization. The researchers themselves did not completely approve of the local culture they studied. Instead, it implied that Taiwanese ethnos were not yet evolving. This subtly echoed social Darwinism, and further rationalized colonial rule.

This discourse could be further applied to a fundamental theory for assimilation or differentiated treatment. Because Taiwanese were a different nationality, their nature and psychology were different from the Japanese. Therefore, different treatment or assimilation could be seen as reasonable. As a result, we can see that the study of customs and connected theatre studies served a variety of colonial strategies. In the Taishō period, studying local theatre was viewed as a foundation of assimilation. During the Shōwa period, such study was claimed to be the foundation of the integration of Taiwanese and Japanese.

Another important reason to investigate Taiwanese ethnos was to realize the Han ethnos in China or in Southeast Asia. It undoubtedly responded to national policy, exposing the attempt of the Japanese empire to expand in East and Southeast Asia. After the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War, this purpose was made more explicit.

Conclusion

Over the 42 years of Japanese colonial period, the colonizers used modern approaches to study Taiwan thoroughly. Not only were the broad fields such as population, natural environment, society and customs developed, but specific areas, such as theatre were also developed systematically. Researchers constantly explored and discovered new aspects of classical theatre in greater detail. This eventually led to the establishment of a particular framework for local classical theatre, which was unimaginable before the

Japanese colonial period. Based on this, “Taiwanese classical theatre” was first defined. The colonizer categorized and defined theatre in Taiwan just as they categorized and defined races and much else in Taiwan. The concept of Taiwanese classical theatre, like many other Taiwanese things, is a modern and also colonial construction. This definition has deeply influenced the study and concept of local classical theatre in the post war period. In the post war period, the term “Taiwanese traditional theatre” appeared. The genres which are viewed as Taiwanese traditional theatre were those that were defined as being Taiwanese classical theatre in the Japanese colonial period. The concept of Taiwanese traditional theatre has become a commonplace term in present day Taiwan. The achievement of the colonial period was unprecedented and it can also be seen as a milestone in Taiwanese cultural history.

Chapter Three

Theatrical Modernization and the Formation of Taiwanese Classical Theatre

After tracing the construction of the concept of "Taiwanese classical theatre," the next question is, in addition to a change of conceptualization, was there any change in the content of native classical theatre? Or did native classical theatre also change in content when entering the modern era? This chapter will explore another aspect in the formation of Taiwanese classical theatre, the effect of modernization in theatre.

The modernization of classical theatre in Taiwan can be roughly divided into two aspects, namely, the socio-cultural and theatrical aesthetics. The socio-cultural aspect refers to the emergence of modern theatrical buildings and modern media, such as newspapers, broadcasting and phonographic recording. Classical theatrical performances in Taiwan followed these trends. The physical construction of modern theatres was accompanied by the adoption of ticketing mechanisms, while newspapers published related advertisements. Phonograph records formed part of the entertainment industry. All were modern commercial activities and all were new experiments for native classical theatre in Taiwan.

The theatrical aesthetic aspect was mainly "theatre reform," which was a revolution from the aesthetics of symbolism to the aesthetics of realism. The theatre reform introduced from Japan and China led to the birth of Taiwanese reformed theatre/Taiwanese opera. Both aspects are connected with each other, since both were products of modern era.

I. The modern vessels for classical theatre in Taiwan

1. Commercial theatre

The emergence of commercial theatres was brought about by the Japanese. In January 1896, Tokyo Tei 東京亭 (Tokyo Pavilion) appeared in Taipei. It was the first commercial theatre in Taiwan. It was not a theatrical building, but only a room in a general house, which was temporarily rented. In 1897, only two years after the beginning of colonization, the first professional indoor and commercial theatre, Naniwa Za 浪花座 (Surf Theatre), was built in Taipei. It was a Japanese-style theatre, and provided Japanese performing arts for mainly Japanese audiences.[1] Many Japanese-style theatres were built in Taipei, and by 1906, Japanese theatres were also built in Taichung and Tainan.[2] In 1912, when Tsukushi Za 筑紫座 (Tsukushi Theatre) was completed in Hualian 花蓮, these new kind of commercial theatres had already spread to the major cities all over the island.[3]

By the mid-1900s, to native people, indoor commercial theatres were certainly an extraordinary scene. They were foreign and concentrated in Taipei, the new capital of Taiwan since 1887, and a place inhabited by the largest number of newcomers. Indoor theatres only served newcomers with foreign performing arts.

In 1906, a Fuzhou troupe, the Sanqing Company (Sanqing Ban 三慶班), was invited to Taiwan and performed in Taipei Za 臺北座 (Taipei Theatre). This was the first ticketing performance for native people. In 1909, Tām-tsuí Hì-kuán (Tansui Gikan, 淡水戲館, Tām-tsuí Theatre), was built.[4] It was quite special in three respects. First,

[1] Ye Long-Yan, *Taiwan lao xiyuan,* pp. 10-11.
[2] Ibid., p. 20; 155.
[3] Ibid., p. 59.
[4] The name was changed to Taiwan Sin Bú-tâi/Taiwan Shin Butai 台灣新舞台 (Taiwan New Stage)

it was the first commercial theatre especially for native audiences. Second, the originators and investors were Japanese. Third, although the theatre was for native audiences, it was not a stage for native troupes. When the project was planned, it was exclusively for Chinese troupes. In 1911, the Tainan Tāi Bú-tâi (Tainan Dai Butai, 台南大舞台, Tainan Great Stage), was completed. This was the first commercial and indoor theatre built by native people. In spite of this, it was still not for native troupes, but for Chinese troupes in particular. In fact, by the mid-1920s, commercial theatres were mainly for troupes from either Japan or China. The so-called "Islanders' entertainment organizations" (本島人娛樂機關) reported in the newspapers usually referred to indoor theatres exclusively for Chinese troupes.

Initially, agents who introduced Chinese troupes to Taiwan were mainly from Tuā-tiū-tiânn 大稻埕 in Taipei. Tuā-tiū-tiânn was the economic and foreign trade centre in Taiwan with the richest merchants concentrated there. These agents' previous businesses had nothing to do with theatre. They might trade in tea or Western medicine. We can imagine that, for them, the "theatre" was a new business in which to invest, when they saw a new type of entertainment industry introduced by new comers. This entertainment industry consisted of the construction of indoor theatres or cinemas, importing Japanese traditional performing arts, modern drama and film, and ticketing systems.

To people in Taiwan, it was a whole new experience. During the Qing rule, theatrical performances were usually related to special occasions, such as religious or seasonal festivals, family celebrations or funerals. Performances at festivals were public affairs,

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in 1916, when Gu Xianrong 辜顯榮 (1866-1937) bought it. However, in newspapers, reporters still often called the old name, or called both names at the same time.

and were naturally free for everyone. Now "theatrical performance" became a pure "product," which was "sold" directly to individuals, and was separated from specific occasions. Businessmen in Tuā-tiū-tiânn imported Chinese troupes just as they imported Western medicines or exported tea; all of these businesses were part of international trade.

When native merchants imitated Japanese businessmen to establish an entertainment industry, they often gave priority to Beijing opera troupes. This kind of theatre already had an established mature commercial mechanism. In the late 18th century, commercial theatres, *chayuan* 茶園 (teahouse), had already appeared in Beijing, and was to become the main performing place for Beijing opera.[5] By the beginning of the 20th century, Beijing opera had spread to the whole country, especially to major cities.[6] Undoubtedly, it was more convenient to import a mature and popular theatrical product.

In 1908, three native *lan-than* (*kuann-im*) troupes united and tried the ticketing mechanism for the first time. At that time, they still performed on a temporary outdoors stage. This shows that for native troupes, the ticketing mechanism went first, unlike Japanese or Chinese troupes, who adopted a complete operation mode from the beginning.

This first attempt did not succeed, as the report said:

> Because it is near the end of lunar year, and as the *kuann-im* players on the island

[5] *Zhongguo jingjushi*, pp. 101-104.
[6] Ibid., pp. 376-384.

are rarely employed, they will use up their resources in idleness. Therefore, the three troupes joined together and set up a theatre at Tsóo-su Temple from the 14th. They perform day and night, hopefully to make some profit for food supplies. This case is in imitation of Sanqing and Xiangsheng troupes from Fuzhou, which sailed to Taiwan to perform the year before last. However, the theatre set-up is disorderly, and it is therefore incapable of allowing people watch the performances.

本島官音俳優爲舊歷年杪已迫，聘演者寥寥，坐食山崩，爰三班合併，於去十四日起，設戲園於祖師廟內，日夜扮演，冀得些資，以供食料。是亦仿前年福州三慶、祥陞二班渡臺開演之例也。然園中安置錯雜，殊不足使人觀演。[7]

The report clearly indicates that this experiment was to imitate the performances of the Chinese troupes in 1906, which was the first ticketing performance for native people. The united troupes arranged the performances themselves, not through agents. The remark that "[t]he theatre set-up is disorderly" (園中安置錯雜) could refer to the management of auditoriums and the surrounding. Traditionally, troupes or organizers did not have to arrange auditoriums for public outdoor performances; audiences merely stood below a stage or brought their own chairs. However, in a commercial indoor theatre, the location of seats was related to ticket prices. The locations of stage, backstage, auditorium, entrance and exit should be planned properly. Additionally, there are still other facilities, such as box offices, toilets and snack and drink bars. Since it is a mode of operation, not simply the constructing of a stage, it is reasonable or inevitable that native troupes could not arrange well themselves the first time. Two years later, in 1910, a native *lan-than* troupe, Giȯk-kì troupe (Giȯk-kì Pan 玉記班) tried to perform at a commercial theatre for the first time. The troupe was only reported the once, so perhaps this first try was unsuccessful.

[7] *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō,* Jan. 17, 1908, p. 5.

However, these *lan-than* troupes first led native troupes into the commercial system. The 1910s was a transitional period for native troupes. Several ticketing performances were in front of temples.[8] The reason could be that in some areas, such as Yilan, Keelung, Taoyuan, Hsinchu, Changhua or Chiayi, indoor theatres were not yet built; or the numbers of indoor theatres were not enough for native troupes, since the priority for indoor theatres would be to rent them to Japanese and Chinese troupes. From the 1920s, ticketed performances were conducted in indoor theatres.[9] Squares in front of temples returned as spaces for festivals and free performances.

In this transitional period, the major traditional genres in Taiwan – *lan-than* , *xi-pin*, *tshit-tsu-pan* and glove puppetry – all began to adopt a commercial outlook. Troupes in the 1910s practised this more successfully. On the other hand, it is noticeable that a large proportion of native troupes were either Beijing opera troupes or troupes which included Beijing opera in their performances. To native people, the "commercial system" and "Beijing opera" were always connected. When Beijing opera was popular in Taiwan, native people learned this new genre, and further imitated its mode of commercial operation. This imitation stage was necessary and was the foundation for a later, purely native, theatrical product, Taiwanese reformed theatre/Taiwanese opera.

2. Newspapers and advertisements

Newspapers appeared for the first time in Taiwan in 1885.[10] In 1896, the second year

[8] See appendix 3-1.
[9] See appendix 3-1.
[10] It was *Taiwan Church News* (*Taiwan Hú-siânn Kàu-huē-pò* 臺灣府城教會報). Henning Klöter, *Written Taiwanese*, pp. 93-94; Wu Shou-li, *Fuke fangyan,* p. 79.

of Japanese colonization, the Japanese also began to publish newspapers in Taiwan. *Taiwan shinpō* 臺灣新報 (Taiwan News), was published by Yamashita Hotsumi 山下秀實 (fl. 1896-1898 in Taiwan). In the next year, 1897, *Taiwan nippō* 臺灣日報 (Taiwan Daily) was published by Kawamura Sanetaka 川村實隆 (fl. 1897-1898 in Taiwan). Because of the destructive competition between the two newspapers, in 1898, Governor-General Kodama Gentaro intervened and helped Moriya Zenbee 守屋善兵衛 (fl. 1898-1900s in Taiwan) to buy the two newspapers and to merge them into *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, which became the longest issued and representative newspaper in the colonial period.[11] After *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō,* other newspapers were published. Among the existing newspaper sources, on 14th February, 1897, news about activities of native classical theatre first appeared in the Chinese column of *Taiwan shinpō*.

Information on classical theatre in the newspapers of the colonial period can be divided into three major kinds—reports, commentary and advertisements. When Chinese troupes were first introduced to Taiwan in 1906, the three kinds of information all appeared. When it came to native troupes, however, the situation was quite different. More than half of the reports were not especially for theatrical performances. They were in fact reports about all kind of festivals, celebrations and receptions. Classical theatre was a part of these activities. Instead, the reports about Chinese troupes were usually pure theatrical reports. We are therefore able to see that the birth of the pure theatrical report was caused by commercial performances.

Advertisements were produced by commercial theatres, and therefore were also new to native people. To Chinese troupes and their agents, advertisements of daily plays

[11] Hsu Yu-yin, "Rizhi Taiwan baoye," pp. 58-59.

were a normal or necessary strategy from the beginning. For native troupes, although they had begun to enter the commercial system from 1908, advertisements were not used until 1914. The first troupe which advertised their plays was Kim-pó-hing.[12] By the mid-1920s, among native troupes, it was usual for Beijing opera and *peh-li-hi* troupes to advertise their plays.

It is undoubtedly the case that the emergence of newspapers made classical theatre noticed and frequently evaluated. What newspapers provided was "daily" information, and as a result, the quantity of information grew to unprecedented levels. The goal of the modern media was to feed the public with an abundance of news. Theatre, as a new and popular entertainment, was naturally part of this. Newspapers were also a new space for people to express their ideas. Therefore, criticism and suggestions would appear at the same time. However, Taiwanese classical theatre, especially *tshia-koo, pun-te kua-a* and *sam-giog cai-ca,* also became targets for attack, under the influence of "theatre reform," which will be examined below.

3. Broadcasting and phonographic recording

In 1925, broadcasting was started by Government-General on 17th June. This was the programme for Taiwan hajimesei sanjūnen kinen tenrankai 臺灣始政三十年記念展覽會 (Taiwan Exhibition for the 30th Anniversary of Dominion). This programme was an experiment that lasted for the 10 days of the exhibition. It was only about three

[12] In newspapers of the colonial period, "report" and "advertisement" were easily confused because the layouts were not obviously different. There was no color print yet and the font type and size of both were the same. However, reports and advertisements were still different. A theatre report was written from a bystander's point of view. In addition to providing information of performances, sometimes weaknesses of performances or negative news would also be described. Moreover, reports would not necessarily announce plays. Advertisements would usually announce clearly the plays on that day. Additionally, an advertisement was always put at the bottom of a page. Based on this standard, the first advertisement for native troupes was that of Kim-pó-hing, in 26th January, 1914, page 4 of *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*.

months after Japan itself began broadcasting, on 22nd March via Tokyo Hōsō Kyoku 東京放送局 (Tokyo Broadcasting Station; JOAK).[13] In 1928, the Government-General planned to establish a 10KW radio station, and first used the Kōtsūkyoku Teishinbu 交通局遞信部 (The Department of Communication, Bureau of Transportation) office building to experiment with broadcasting. In November 1930, the radio station was established and formal broadcasting began in January 1931.[14]

At the experimental stage, newspapers published programme schedules for that day. Before 1937, most local music programmes were *lam-kuan* and *pak-kuan*.[15] Perhaps broadcasting was operated by the government; therefore the music broadcasted was a particular selection. A letter from a reader and a report could represent a general idea of the kind of music deemed suitable for broadcast. "We want *lam-kuan* and Chinese music. □ Please frequently visit the broadcasting station for broadcast music." (渴望南管曲中國音樂□。時常到放送局放送音樂)[16] "Tainan Broadcasting Station would like to broadcast Taiwanese music. Anyone who possesses *lam-kuan* and *pak-kuan* records, please kindly allow them to share with other aficionados. Tainan Broadcasting Station plans to broadcast elegant Taiwanese music in order to respond to listeners' hopes on the island." (臺南放送局欲放送臺灣音樂，如有南北管曲盤者，請借一用以公同好。臺南放送局爲副島人聽取者之希望，計劃放送優雅臺灣音樂。)[17] Both listeners and the broadcaster hoped to broadcast *lam-kuan*. *Lam-kuan* and *pak-kuan* were viewed as elegant music. In fact, when members of the Japanese royal family or Japanese nobles visited Taiwan, these two kinds of music would

[13] "Regular Radio Broadcasting Begins."
[14] Ko Chia-Wen, "Rizhi guangbo," pp. 9-10.
[15] See appendix 3-2.
[16] *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō,* Mar. 30, 1929, p. 4.
[17] *Tainan shinpō,* Apr. 27, 1932, p. 8. From the late 1920s, a variety of Taiwanese music began to be recorded and published in a great number. (See the following introduction to phonograph recording industry.) Therefore the records broadcast were likely recorded in Taiwan.

always be performed at receptions hosted by the Government-General or other local governments.

In 1898, the phonograph was introduced to Taiwan. In 1910, Kabushikigaisha Nippon Chiku'onki Shōkai 株式會社日本蓄音器商會 (Nipponophone) established the first agency in Taiwan and began to import records from Japan. In 1914, native music was recorded for the first time. 15 native musicians were invited by Nipponophone to Tokyo to record *pak-kuan*, Hakka *bad*^{2} *im*^{24} 八音 (eight kinds of music) and *pun-te kua-a*: *San-phik Ing-tâi* 山伯英台 (*San-phik* and *Ing-tâi*).[18] At the beginning of 1926, Tokkyo Rekōdo Seisakusho 特許レコード製作所 (Chartered Record Producing Company) began phonographic recording in Taiwan. Nipponophone followed in the May of the same year.[19]

Nipponophone was acquired by Columbia in 1928. Columbia inherited the copyright of records and sales channels from Nipponophone and shared most of the Taiwanese market in the following colonial period. In fact, it was after Columbia's operation in Taiwan that the market became mature.[20]

The success of Columbia can be attributed to the strategy of Kayano Shōjirō 栢野正次郎 (fl. 1928-1945 in Taiwan), the managing director of the Taiwan branch. He considered that the company should produce "Taiwanese music" for Taiwanese listeners.[21] Abundant records of music in Taiwan were produced. This strategy also gave birth to the creation of a new Taiwanese popular music from 1929. [22] The

[18] Hwang Shinn-jang, *Chuanchang Taiwan*, pp. 25-33.
[19] Xu Li-Sha and Lin Liang-Che, *Rizhi changpian,* pp. 72-75.
[20] Ibid., p. 79.
[21] Ibid., pp. 79-80.
[22] Ibid., p. 80.

concepts and the following practices of Kayano expressed the same idea as Takamatsu but in different words. Takamatsu advocated producing Taiwanese drama for Taiwanese audiences, and developed Taiwan *seigeki* 臺灣正劇 (Taiwan formal theatre), which will be discussed later.

Phonographic recording was not only a new method of communication for native classical theatre; it also inspired native people to compose new melodies and arias for native classical theatre. Composers would create new arias for recording, and if it was popular in the market, the new arias would be adopted by other troupes in performances.[23] Moreover, the native musicians of native troupes also began to adopt Western instruments for composition, who then in turn influenced other troupes or amateur clubs in the use of Western instruments as well. This phenomenon was not limited to specific genres, but was rather widespread. The musicians even began to learn new musical concepts from Western forms of music, especially Jazz.[24] The musicians with native troupes in fact did not receive a Western musical education in the regular educational system. They were different from other kinds of musicians in Taiwan at the time, who formally studied Western classical music at Church schools or at music schools in Japan.

There are no complete statistics for the number of records during Japanese colonial period. The Columbia Company operated for the longest time and dominated most of

[23] Xu and Lin offer a complete overview of the newly created arias for *kua-a-hi* in their book.
[24] Hsu Yuan-Yang, "Taiwan xiqu yinyue xiandaixing," p. 2; 54; 65.
According to Andrew F. Jones, there was similar phenomenon in China around the same period, and the representative musician was Li Jinhui 黎錦暉. However, this kind of popular music was severely criticized by musicians who had received an orthodox Western classical music education. This perspective was an influence of colonialism and cultural Darwinism. Western classical music was put in the highest class. To these elite musicians, Jazz, Chinese folksongs or theatrical music were vulgar, and the "mixed blood," popular music, such as work by Li, was especially intolerable. See Jones, *Yellow music,* p. 41; 73-74; 78-79; 102-104. By contrast, in Taiwan, this style was not criticized or despised. Criticisms were in connection with contents of theatre, instead of musical form.

the market, so the issue numbers of the Columbia Company should represent the situation of the market in the colonial period. The table below shows the numbers of theatrical records of Columbia Company by the end of colonial period.[25] *Kua-a-hi* and *cai-ca-hi* will be discussed in the section on Taiwanese reformed theatre/Taiwanese opera below.

Table 3-1 Statistics of theatrical records of Columbia Company

Genre	Label on records	Number of item	Total
Beijing opera	*erhuang* of Beijing opera (京音二簧)	21	68
	se-phi of Beijing opera (京音西皮)	30	
	short arias of Beijing opera (京音小曲)	7	
	tsiànn-im theatre (正音戲曲)	9	
	Beijing opera (京調)	1	
pak-kuan	*pak-kuan* (amateur club) (北管(子弟))	26	68
	hok-loo of *pak-kuan* (北管福路)	24	
	se-phi of *pak-kuan* (北管西皮)	17	
	kunqu of *pak-kuan* (北管崑腔小排)	1	
lam-kuan	arias of *lam-kuan* (南管清曲)		41
peh-li-hi	*peh-li-hi* (白字戲)		9

[25] The statistic is according to the catalogue in *Nihon Koromubia Gaichi Rokuon Disukografī* 日本コロムビア外地録音ディスコグラフィー (The Discography of the Nippon Columbia's Overseas Recordings).

other Taiwanese theatre	custom play (風俗戲)	8	8
	shingeki; sin-kio̍k (新劇)	9	9
	shin kageki; sin- kua-kio̍k (新歌劇)	19	19
	cultural theatre (Quanzhou *shiyin*) (文化劇(泉州什音))	1	1
other Chinese theatre or music	*bangzi* (梆子)	4	4
	Fuzhou songs (福州曲)	7	7
	Guangdong songs (廣東曲)	1	1
probably puppet theatre	Unlabeled	4	4

Phonograph recordings mainly included Beijing opera sung by Chinese or Taiwanese players, *pak-kuan* and *lam-kuan*. Puppet theatre was rarely recorded, as the appreciation of puppetry gradually became the skill of operating puppets rather than singing in this period. It is also possible that most of the music of puppet theatre was considered to belong to the systems of *lan-than*, *xi-pin* or *tshit-tsu-pan* theatre, as puppet theatre was a miniature general theatre at that time.

To summarize, in the early 20th century, native classical theatre and troupes began to be modernized, along with the modernization that was brought about by Japanese rule. Native troupes began to experiment with commercialism, such as by adopting ticketing systems, entering commercial theatres and taking advantage of newspapers for advertising. Native classical theatre began to be communicated via new media, broadcasting and phonograph records, as well as to be reported and evaluated via the

new medium of newspapers. While they are usually viewed as "traditional theatre in Taiwan" nowadays, they were in fact rapidly modernized, along with the modernization of Taiwan. Therefore, native classical theatre in the colonial period was already different from what it had been during Qing rule. Conceptually, native classical theatre was newly defined as "Taiwanese classical theatre" during the colonial period, as Chapter Two indicated; in content, native classical theatre was modernized. "Taiwanese classical theatre" was not simply a new term, it also had a new essence. If there was no modernization, so-called "Taiwanese classical theatre" would not have appeared. The modernized native classical theatre should be regarded as the forerunner of Taiwanese reformed theatre/Taiwanese opera, namely *kua-a-hi* and *cai-ca-hi*.

II. Theatre reform and aesthetic revolution—the pursuit of realism

In Japan and China, modernization brought technological revolution, which in turn, gave rise to realism. This theatrical aesthetic revolution was in the form of the "theatre reform" campaign. Many new forms or genres emerged in this campaign. Theatre reform deeply affected Taiwan in the early 20th century. Among the new theatrical forms in Japan and China, *haipai* Beijing opera and *wenmingxi* from China, as well as *shimpa* from Japan, were especially influential.[26] Native troupes learnt from Japanese and Chinese troupes how to perform modern themes and to use modern theatre design and technology to represent "reality" on stage. It shaped the characteristics of Taiwanese classical theatre. Before discussing the situation in Taiwan, it is necessary

[26] In Japan, the New Theatre Movement (新劇運動) rose after *shimpa*. In China, after *wenmingxi,* the May Fourth Movement also led to further theatrical reform. However, the works and theories of these movements mainly influenced the intelligentsia's theatrical activities in Taiwan, instead of Taiwanese classical theatre.

to trace the origins of realism in theatre back to Japan and China.

1. Theatre reform in Japan and China

1) Theatre reform in Japan

In the early 1870s, at the beginning of Meiji era, there was a tendency towards theatre reform (*engeki kairyō* 演劇改良). In 1872, the Tokyo Prefecture (東京府) instructed troupes in Tokyo that theatrical plays were for moralization and had to be based on historical facts. Several months later, the Ministry of Religious Education (教部省) also commanded that the purpose of theatre should be to encourage good and punish evil.[27] "Living history plays" (*katsurekigeki* 活歷劇) appeared.[28] In the next year, 1873, *Tokyo nichinichi shinbun* 東京日日新聞 (Tokyo Daily News), a current events play by Kawatake Mokuami 河竹默阿彌 (1816-1893), was first produced.[29] Ideas that the theatre is an educational instrument[30] as well as theatre should reflect reality[31] became fundamental for later theatrical movements.

Around the same time, in 1871, the Iwakura Mission (岩倉使節團) sailed to Europe and United States to observe all kinds of political, economic and social institutions and practices. The Mission was back in Japan in 1873. On the tour, those officers had also been invited to go to theatres. They found that theatres there were capable of being a social place of high class. Compared to the Western situation, the officers considered traditional *kabuki* theatre to be incapable of this.[32] In order to transform Japan into a "civilized state," not only a major political, economic and social system,

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[27] For an account of the instructions from the Ministry of Religious Education, see Ōzasa Yoshio, *Nihon gendai engekishi—Meiji・Taishō hen*, p. 21; for those of Tokyo Prefecture, see Kawatake Shigetoshi, *Gaisetsu Nihon engekishi*, pp. 336-337.
[28] Komiya Toyotaka, *Japanese Music and Drama in the Meiji Era*, p. 198.
[29] Bowers, *Japanese Theatre,* p. 206; Komiya, op.cit., p. 215.
[30] Komiya, op.cit., p. 188; 196; 199.
[31] Gangloff, "Kinoshita Junji, A modern Japanese Dramatist," p. 11; Komiya, op.cit., p. 196; 201.
[32] Komiya, op.cit., p. 188.

but also minor things such as "theatre," had to be "reformed."[33] The term "reform" emerged directly under the influence of a policy of Westernization.

As part of the fashion for Westernization, "reform" became an idiom for dressing, eating, housing, hair style, customs, education, religion, literature, and much else.[34] Theatre was unexceptional. Morita Kanya XII 十二代目守田勘彌 (1846-1897) was representative in the *kabuki* reform as well as Westernization. He reconstructed *kabuki* theatre, Shintomi Za 新富座, in a Western style. The high officials in the Meiji government were invited to the inauguration ceremony in 1878. *Kabuki* dramatists who attended the ceremony all dressed in tailcoats, with a cropped hairstyle, "*zangiri atama*" (散切頭), a typical symbol of "civilization."[35]

Only a few months before, in the same year, he had produced *Okige no kumo harau asagochi* 西南雲晴朝東風 (The Morning East Wind Clearing the Clouds of the Southwest). The play was about the Southwestern War (西南戰爭), which had just happened in 1877.[36] Fireworks were used to imitate war scenes. Then, in 1879, he produced *Hyōryū kidan seiyō kabuki* 漂流奇談西洋劇 (Wanderers' Strange Story: A Foreign Kabuki), a play about a journey to the Western world.[37]

Officers of Meiji government formed the Society for Theatre Reform (Engeki Kairyō Kai 演劇改良會) in 1886.[38] The goals were to support: A. the creation of good works, B. the promotion of social status of dramatists, and C. the construction of new

[33] Gangloff, op.cit., pp. 10-11; Komiya, op.cit., p. 199.
[34] Komiya, op.cit., p. 216.
[35] Gangloff, op.cit., p. 13; Komiya, op.cit., p.191.
[36] Ōzasa, op.cit., p. 31.
[37] Komiya, op.cit., p. 193; Ōzasa, op.cit., p. 31.
[38] Gangloff, op.cit., p. 11; Komiya, op.cit., p. 201; 217.

theatres.[39] One Association member, Fukuchi Ōchi 福地櫻痴 (1841-1906), who was also a member of the Iwakura Mission, led the construction of a new theatrical building in 1889. The outward appearance of the building was in a Western style, with a Japanese style internally. Originally, Fukuchi had wanted to name it "Reform Theatre" (Kairyō Za 改良座), but this was opposed, so it was named the "Kabuki Theatre" (Kabuki Za 歌舞伎座).[40] Moreover, Fukuchi also created many scripts and his scripts were adopted by *kabuki* and the later *shimpa* troupes.[41]

In 1888, the Dainippon Sōshi Kairyō Engekikai 大日本壯士改良演劇會 (Theatre Reform Association of Heroic Men in Great Japan) was formed by Sudō Sadanori 角藤定憲 (1867-1907),[42] which marked the birth of *shimpa* 新派 (New School). Originally, it was for advocating Sudō's political ideals.[43] Although Sudō opposed the government, he also considered theatre to be an instrument with which to educate the public and he named his organization "theatre reform." The two points were in fact not different from the official attitude. The major theme was Meiji events. Similarly, Kawakami Otojirō marked the "Reform, Kawakami Otojirō" (改良川上音二郎) in 1887, when he attended a *kabuki* performance. In 1891, stimulated by Sudō's troupe, Kawakami formed *shosei shibai* 書生芝居 (scholar's theatre).[44] His representative productions included the following themes:[45]

A. Political events: *Itagaki kun sōnan jikki* 板垣君遭難實記 (The True Story of Itagaki's Misfortunes)

[39] Bowers, op.cit., pp. 203-204; Komiya, op.cit., pp. 216-217.
[40] Ōzasa, op.cit., p. 36.
[41] Komiya, op.cit., p. 199.
[42] Gangloff, op.cit., p. 20; Ōzasa, op.cit., p. 50.
[43] Bowers, op.cit., p. 209.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Ōzasa, op.cit., pp. 52-54.

B. Social events: *Igai* 意外 (Shock!); *Mata igai* 又意外 (Shock Again!); *Matamata igai* 又又意外 (Shock yet another Time)

C. War: *Sōzetsu kaizetsu Nisshin sensō* 日清戰爭 (The Sublime, the Delightful Sino-Japanese War); *Kawakami Otojirō senchi kenbun nikki* 川上音二郎戰地見聞日記 (Kawakami Otojirō's Battlefield Report);[46] *Ikaiei kanraku* 威海衛陷落 (The Fall of Ikaiei)

D. Western experiences: *Kawakami Otojirō・Sadayakko manyūki* 川上音二郎・貞奴漫遊記 (Kawakami Otojirō and Sadayakko's Wanderings)

E. Translated works: Othello; The Merchant of Venice; Hamlet.

Kawakami's productions almost exhibit all of the themes of *shimpa*. Further, he also built a theatre exclusively for this new kind of drama. The construction was completed in 1895. The theatre was designed in a Western style and was called the "Reform Theatre" (改良座) in 1901. (The original name was Kawakami Za 川上座 (Kawakami Theatre).[47] Kawakami's wife, Sadayakko 貞奴 (1871-1946), was the first actress in the modern sense, that is, neither a *geisha*, nor an *onnagata/oyama* 女方/女形, which was played by men.[48] The Kawakami couple also organized a school for training actresses. When Kawakami produced *Osero* (Othello) in 1903, he abandoned the musical form completely, in favour of conversation. It marked the rejection of the *kabuki* influence and is the forerunner of later *shingeki* 新劇 (new theatre).[49]

When *sōshi shibai* (heroic men theatre) or *shosei shibai* gradually transformed from

[46] Gangloff, op.cit., p. 22.
[47] Ōzasa, op.cit., p. 53.
[48] Bowers, op.cit., pp. 209-210.
[49] Ōzasa, op.cit., pp. 56-57.

amateur performances into professional, their original political colour decreased.[50]

While Kawakami approached complete realism, other *shimpa* troupes still preserved the musical form, including dancing, singing and traditional instruments, as well as *onnagata/oyama*, female roles played by men,[51] even though they also played themes about society and wars in the Meiji era,[52] as well as translated Western works. Some *onnagata/oyama* players would develop performing skills by learning *kabuki*[53] and troupes would produce plays in a *kabuki* style. *Hanamichi* 花道 (flower runway) of traditional stage was still used. In other words, they still drew on the artistic characteristics of *kabuki* to some extent.[54] The theme was also a little different from that of Kawakami's production. Light literature, such as serial stories, was often obtained.[55] This situation was rarely seen in the Kawakami troupe. In fact, many *shimpa* players did not even recognize Kawakami's theatre as real *shimpa*.[56]

Overall, *shimpa* is the transition between *kabuki* and *shingeki*,[57] therefore it shares characteristics from both sides, but it is difficult to classify as one or the other.

2) Theatre reform in China

In China, theatrical modernization was led by Beijing opera troupes in Shanghai, but at the beginning, there was not a concept of "reform" as there was in Japan. Beijing opera spread to Shanghai during the late 1860s.[58] It gradually developed

[50] Bowers, op.cit., p. 211; Gangloff, op.cit., p. 22.
[51] Bowers, op.cit., p. 212; Ōzasa, op.cit., p. 59.
[52] Bowers, op.cit., p. 211.
[53] Gangloff, op.cit., p. 26; Ōzasa, op.cit., p. 59.
[54] Ōzasa, op.cit., p. 68.
[55] Ibid., pp. 64-65; 67.
[56] Ibid., p. 59; 68.
[57] Bowers, op.cit., p. 212.
[58] Lin Xing-Hui, *Shanghai jingju fazhan,* pp. 43-44; *Zhongguo jingjushi*, pp. 255-256.

characteristics that were distinguishable from so-called "orthodox" style in Beijing. By the end of the 19th century, the Beijing opera of Shanghai school was formed, called "*haipai*" 海派 (Shanghai school); another name was "*waijiang*" 外江, the literal meaning of which is "river outside."[59] The major characteristics of *haipai* were: exhibitions for all kinds of modern things or fashionable entertainments in Shanghai on stage; a large number of current events plays, including political, military, diplomatic and social events; serial plays; foreign themes; extreme emphases on theatre design and technology, especially the use of electrical, mechanical and lighting technology; mixtures of acrobatics, magic and other kind of shows.[60] Those characteristics, which were considered "un-orthodox,"[61] were in fact the characteristics of modernization or Westernization.[62]

In 1887, a troupe in Shanghai first produced a current social event play: *Huoshao diyilou* 火燒第一樓 (Burning The First Mansion).[63] In 1893, Shanghai troupes began to produce plays about the civil wars in the latter half of the 19th century. The first play was *Tie gongji* 鐵公雞 (An Iron Rooster).[64] Meanwhile, plays such as *Zhongwai tongshang* 中外通商 (Trade with Foreign Countries) or *Zhongwai heyue* 中外和約 (Treaties with Foreign States) also appeared. Foreign or fashionable objects began to be shown on stage.[65]

However, whether plays about social events or war, they were often banned by the

[59] *Zhongguo jingjushi*, pp. 275-276.
[60] Ibid., pp. 278-282.
[61] Ibid., p. 277.
[62] When it comes to linguistic characteristics, at present we only know that *haipai* adopted the Beijing Opera Zhongzhou accent (中州韻). To what extent *haipai* shows Shanghai linguistic characteristics has not been particularly noticed. Because the Colombia Company also made and issued phonograph records in Shanghai around the 1920s to 1930s, there are sources for future research on this topic.
[63] Lin Xing-Hui, op.cit., p. 125.
[64] Ibid., pp. 185; 191-193.
[65] Ibid., pp. 143; 148. 244-246.

government.[66] Nevertheless, except for the banning of plays, the Chinese government did not involve itself in theatre reform. It was naturally due to the different political situation from Japan. While civil wars were quelled and the centralization of authority was established in Japan, instead, in China, centralized authority was declining rapidly. In this period, the concept of "reform" had not appeared.

In the early 1900s, the Theatre Reform Campaign was launched.[67] Corresponding to the revolutionary climate, theatre now began to be viewed as an educational instrument. The previous social events or war plays during 1887 to 1900 did not display an obvious ideology and were not connected to an educational purpose. After 1900, plays would purposely reveal social and political issues.[68] Western themes appeared. Previous plays about trade or treaties with foreign countries cannot be viewed as Western themes because they reflected the external relations of China. After 1900, Western stories were just played on stage. History plays were edited as well. History was used as a mirror to reflect the contemporary national crises of invasion and disorder. Foreign history was often depicted as well.[69]

In 1908, the first Western style theatre was built in Shanghai, called New Stage (Xin Wutai 新舞台).[70] The leaders of the project were players, such as Pan Yueqiao 潘月樵 (1869-1928), Xia Yueshan 夏月珊 (1868-1924), who were enthusiastic supporters of the theatre reform campaign.[71] To build a Western-style theatre for newly created plays was a significant part of theatre reform. The establishment of

[66] Ibid., pp. 203-211.
[67] *Zhongguo jingjushi*, pp. 302-303.
[68] Ibid., pp. 316-322.
[69] Ibid., pp. 325-326; 328-332.
[70] Ibid., p. 339.
[71] Ibid., pp. 342-347; 453-457.

New Stage led to the building of further Western-style theatres.[72]

The theatre reform campaign later turned to purely commercial performances, and political or social criticism gradually disappeared,[73] similar to the situation with *shimpa* in Japan.

In fact, *shimpa* directly helped the development of Chinese modern theatre. In 1906, a group of Chinese students in Tokyo formed Chunliu She 春柳社 (Spring Willow Society).[74] At that time, the popularity of *shimpa* had reached a peak, and the artistic characteristics were also firmly established. The Chunliu troupe directly learned artistic characteristics from *shimpa* and the performances of the Chunliu troupe is considered to be the origin of modern Chinese theatre. Later in the 1910s, many members of the Chunliu troupe went back to China to organize new troupes, mainly in Shanghai. They performed many *shimpa* works. This form was called "civilized theatre" (*wenmingxi* 文明戲).[75]

Wenmingxi was not actually very different from reformed Beijing opera. Players would sometimes sing Beijing opera, accompanied by Beijing opera music and adopting symbolic actions and stage properties. Roles were classified into a few specific kinds, just as traditional theatre classified roles. The only difference was that it mainly showed modern society: history plays were excluded. Lines were in the common language, not the Zhongzhou accent (中州韻) of Beijing opera. In fact, many *wenmingxi* works were also adopted by Beijing opera troupes during this period.

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[72] Ibid., p. 353.
[73] Ibid., pp. 370-371.
[74] Xiaomei Chen, "Twentieth-Century Spoken Drama," pp. 849-850.
[75] Ibid., p. 850.

This reflects common characteristics between both kinds of theatre.[76]

Like new *kabuki* and *shimpa* in theatre reform in Japan, reformed Beijing opera, or *wenmingxi*, was still a form of musical. They were, therefore, a transition between traditional theatre and later modern theatre which discarded the musical form totally.

At the beginning, *wenmingxi* also focused on political and social issues,[77] just as with *shimpa*. However, its further development was also similar. In the late 1910s, *wenmingxi* plays turned from political or social criticism to common interests, for example, family quarrels became a major theme.[78]

2. The relationship between theatre reform and Taiwan

Before very long, Taiwan was connected with theatre reform. Probably in 1891, there was a Shanghai troupe of Beijing opera performing in Taiwan. At this time, *haipai* was formed. According to *Ngá-giân* by Lian Heng, in this year, the Provincial Administration Commissioner (布政使) of Taiwan, Tang Jingsong 唐景崧 (1841-1903), hired a Beijing opera troupe from Shanghai to celebrate his mother's birthday.[79] It was a private performance, and the plays or other details are lacking. Lian does not explain his sources. It is also possible that the troupe was from Fuzhou.[80]

The first certain record of that the *haipai* troupe had arrived in Taiwan is Shanghai Guanyin Nannü Ban 上海官音男女班 (The Male and Female Troupe of Beijing

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[76] *Zhongguo jingjushi*, pp. 368-369; Yuan Guoxing, *Zhongguo huaju de yunyu,* pp. 73-75.
[77] Xiaomei Chen, op.cit., pp. 850-851; Gilbert C. F. Fong, "The Rise of Modern Chinese Drama," p. 1.
[78] Fong, op.cit., p. 2.
[79] See the 77th note in *Ngá-giân,* collected in *Taiwan wenxian congkan*.
[80] Chang Chi-Feng, "Qingdai Taiwan xiqu," p. 217.

Opera from Shanghai) in 1908.[81] The troupe played the *haipai* classic, *An Iron Rooster*, as well as *Shazibao* 殺子報 (Divine Retribution for Killing the Son) and *Sida Jingang Da'nao Fancaiguan* 四大金剛大鬧番菜館 ("The Four Guardian Warriors" Clamoured in a Western-style Restaurant).[82] The latter two were current social event plays, which is a clear *haipai* characteristic. One year before, in 1907, a troupe from Fuzhou had played *Divine Retribution for Killing the Son* for the first time.[83] Although not only Shanghai troupes, but also troupes from Fuzhou or Chaozhou, would have similar characteristics, such as using current events, serial plays and theatre technology, it is possible that those troupes were all under the influence of Shanghai-style. After all, Shanghai was the economic centre and the most progressive city in China, so it would have a cultural effect on other areas. Like Shanghai, Fuzhou and Chaozhou are both costal cities in southern China, and the geographic location and similar backgrounds would make them accept the Shanghai-style more easily. Moreover, since Shanghai troupes were very popular in Taiwan, the Fuzhou and Chaozhou troupes that came to Taiwan were very likely to imitate the Shanghai-style to satisfy Taiwanese audiences. Therefore, in a broad sense, these kinds of characteristics should still be classified as Shanghai-style. In addition to *tsiàn-im* 正音 (orthodox music/language) or *kuann-im* (official music/language), Beijing opera was also called "外江" in Taiwan (pronounced *guā-kang* in Taiwanese southern *Hokkien*), exactly the other name for *haipai*.

As to why Shanghai-style was especially popular in Taiwan, this was undoubtedly due to its modernity. Foreign countries had begun to establish settlements in Shanghai

[81] Hsu, *Rizhi shiqi Zhongguo xiban,* pp. 68-69; 152; 159.
[82] "The Four Guardian Warriors" here does not refer to the Buddhist Deities, but was a humorous nickname to call the famous four courtesans in Shanghai at that time.
[83] Hsu, *Rizhi shiqi Zhongguo xiban,* p. 152.

from 1845, following treaties signed with the Qing Empire. Shanghai eventually became the most westernized and modern city in China. When Beijing opera spread to this extraordinary city, it was naturally influenced. Then, when Taiwanese theatrical agents imported Shanghai troupes, they perhaps not only considered the location, but the modern style, which especially suited the taste of Taiwanese audiences. Many troupes in Tokyo were introduced to Taiwan. Compared to Beijing, Tokyo is further from Taiwan, so distance would not have been the major reason why troupes from Shanghai were in Taiwan.

Shanghai troupes mainly performed in the major cities of Taiwan and only performed in commercial theatres.[84] The surroundings of their performances in Taiwan, cities and modern commercial theatres, were similar to those in Shanghai, where there were modern commercial theatres in a modern city as well. The cities in Taiwan were modernized rapidly in the early 20th century under the colonization of a country which had pursued Westernization and modernization actively and thoroughly. Shanghai could be viewed as "a half colony," as its modernization was directly brought about by Western countries, through a degree of domination. Similar situations caused similar tastes between the audiences in Taiwan and Shanghai. This explains why Taiwanese agents did not import Beijing opera troupes from Beijing directly, but from Shanghai, as well as why native troupes would take up the Shanghai-style as a model.

It is generally considered that *wenmingxi* was first introduced to Taiwan by the

[84] In September, 1910, the Laodesheng troupe from Shanghai (上海老德勝) was invited to perform on a temporary stage at a religious festival. However, the players protested strongly that they were unaccustomed to these surroundings, although they had to perform in the end. This case shows that Shanghai troupes were accustomed to playing in an indoor theatre. An outdoors theatre was not a "normal" space for them. Hsu, *Rizhi shiqi Zhongguo xiban,* pp. 141-143; *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, Sep.10, 1910, p. 4.

Minxing troupe (Minxing She 民興社) from Shanghai in 1921. However, a new source (1920) reveals that, before Minxing troupe, *wenmingxi* had been performed in Taiwan by a Beijing opera troupe from Shanghai.

> The Shanghai troupe, which has been invited by Taiwan Theatre Company, has arrived Taipei yesterday, the 8th. The day and night schedules will start today or tomorrow at the New Stage, Taipei. The players invited this time are all famous in Shanghai or Hankou. They are capable of new and old theatre as well as civilized theatre.
>
> 臺灣演劇公司向上海招班已於去八日抵北。豫定本日或明日起，日夜在臺北新舞臺開演。此次所召優伶皆上海及漢口有名者，能演新舊劇及文明戲。[85]

In fact, "able to play modern or new type of theatre" is another important reason why *haipai* was especially popular in Taiwan. It is easily revealed by comparing the two reports below. "Recently, Tianxian troupe in Tām-tsuí Theatre would mix one to two plays of reformed theatre in the whole performance every night, in order to cater for audiences." (近者淡水戲館所演天仙班，因欲投觀客之嗜好，每夜以改良戲一二齣間乎其間).[86] Tianxian was a Shanghai troupe. On the other hand, a troupe without these kinds of plays would have been disapproved of, as this description shows: "Xinsaile, a troupe from Fujian, […] however the performance is not the new reformed theatre. Roughly, the old plays are performed again. […] Criticism appears around the auditorium, because audiences feel bored. (閩班新賽樂 […] 無奈演藝非改良新劇，大致舊事重翻 […] 席上見怪生，因觀生厭。)[87] The so-called "reformed theatre" refers to the modern type of theatre, as will be explained below.

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[85] *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō,* Aug. 10, 1920, p. 6.
[86] Ibid., Sep. 03, 1910, p. 5.
[87] *Tainan shinpō,* Feb. 14, 1924, p. 5.

According to Lee Wan-ju, in 1897, the third year of the Japanese colonization, *sōshi shibai* had been introduced to Taiwan. Current events plays were quite popular from then on. In addition to plays from Japan, social news in *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* was often adapted as well.[88]

Takamatsu Toyojirō, who is undoubtedly one of the most important figures in Taiwanese theatrical modernization, came to Taiwan in 1903 to develop films as a media, consisting of screenings and movie theatre buildings.[89] A few years later, he gained modern theatre in his enterprise. His most important contribution was to initially "Taiwan-ize" the theatre reform of Japan. Before Takamatsu's theatrical enterprise, modern forms of theatre in Taiwan were only performed for Japanese residents. In 1909, Takamatsu organized the Taiwan Seigeki Renshūsho 臺灣正劇練習所 (School of Taiwan Formal Theatre).[90] He recruited and trained Taiwanese people as players. The theatre was to use *Taiwan-gi* (Taiwanese southern *Hokkien,* also abbreviated as *Tai-gi*), and most important of all, to play Taiwanese themes. Takamatsu's Taiwan *seigeki* was particularly for native audiences. In fact, Takamatsu learned the concept and form of *seigeki* 正劇 (formal theatre) from Kawakami.[91] Taiwan *seigeki* can therefore be viewed as a branch of Kawakami's *seigeki*, or Taiwanese *seigeki*. Taiwan *seigeki* can more broadly be viewed as a branch of *shimpa*.

In 1911, his company, Dōjin Sha 同仁社 (Colleague Company), invited *shimpa* troupe, Dōki Dan 同氣團 (Brotherly-Tie Company), and even Kawakami's troupe,

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[88] Lee has traced the origin of Japanese modern theatre in Taiwan very clearly and provided many details. Therefore I will not repeat that here. See Lee, "Taiwan no kindai geki," pp. 3-4.
[89] Ye Long-Yan, *Taiwan Dianying*, p. 62.
[90] Shih Wan-shun, "Banyan Taiwan," pp. 53-55.
[91] This will be further discussed in Chapter Five.

to Taiwan. The new type of theatre was quite attractive to people, as the following report shows:

> Performing Reformed theatre
>
> Dōjin Association in South Theatre recently invited a troupe of reformed theatre from the home country, called Dōkidan, which has had the most favourable response in Tokyo. All plays are about modern actualities, the same with reformed theatre on the island […]. The play is *Cuckoo.* […] Even Taiwanese would desire to watch, in order to broaden their outlook.
>
> 演改良戲
>
> 南座同仁社近向內地聘來一班改良戲，名曰：「同氣團」，在東京最博好評者。所演齣目皆現代事實，與本島改良戲同。 […] 其藝題曰：《不如歸》[…] 即臺灣人亦欲試一觀之，以擴其眼界。[92]

Cuckoo (*Hototogisu* 不如帰) was a classic work of *shimpa*. The report shows that when the *shimpa* troupe came to Taiwan, it not only attracted Japanese, but also Taiwanese. The "reformed theatre on the island" refers to Taiwan *seigeki.* According to reports in newspapers, whether *shimpa*, Taiwan *seigeki* or Kawakami's works, all were usually called "reformed theatre." Moreover, as the previous reports on Tianxian and Xinsaile show, native people would also usually use this term to indicate modern plays by Chinese troupes, instead of the term "*wenmingxi*" from China. This shows that the concept of theatre reform was rooted in Taiwan.

"Reformed theatre" was especially "exclusive" to the Taiwanese context, because modern forms in Japan would be clearly referred to as *sōshi shibai*, *shimpa*, etc, and

[92] *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō,* Jan. 24, 1911, p. 3.

those in China were usually called *wenmingxi,* current events plays (時事戲), modern clothes plays (時裝戲), etc.

It especially deserves to be mentioned that in the history of Chinese *wenmingxi* or modern theatre, there was an important and influential troupe, the Evolvement Troupe (Shinka Dan; Jinhua Tuan 進化團), formed in 1910. The founder, Ren Tianzhi 任天知, was Taiwanese. He went to Japan first, to learn the art of *shimpa*. Then he went to China to form this troupe. The name, "evolvement," clearly shows the Westernized thought in Japan, and also in Taiwan. The theme and performance method imitated *sōshi shibai*. Further, his slogan, "New theatre, Tianzhi school" (Tianzhipai Xinju 天知派新劇), was similar to that of Kawakami, "Reform, Kawakami Otojirō." The Evolvement Troupe of Ren Tianzhi firstly helped to develop *wenmingxi* in China, then *wenmingxi* fed back into Taiwan, helping the development of Taiwanese modern theatre.[93]

In this period, theatre originating from China were called "*hi*" 戲. In Taiwanese classical theatre, genres from China all had this suffix, such as *lan-than-hì*, *tsióng-tiong-hì* (glove puppetry), and *tshia-koo-hì*. New Chinese theatre, which was imported to Taiwan during this period, was also termed the same way, for example, *tsiànn-im-hì* and *bûn-bîng-hì*.

In contrast, the modern style of theatre introduced from Japan to Taiwan during the colonial period was called "*kio̍k*" 劇 ("*geki*" in Japanese), such as *tsiànn-kiok* (*seigeki*) and *sin-kiok* (*shingeki*). The modern theatre that developed in Taiwan was called in the same way. In addition to *kái-liông-kiok*/reformed theatre (*kairyōgeki* in

[93] Wu Ruo and Jia Yidi, *Zhongguo huajushi,* pp. 19-21; Yuan, op.cit., pp. 70.

Japanese), there was *bûn-huà-kiok* 文化劇 (cultural theatre, *bunkageki* in Japanese), *hông-bîn-kiok* 皇民劇 (imperial national theatre, *komingeki* in Japanese) and *tshing-liân-kiok* 青年劇 (youth theatre, *seinengeki* in Japanese), among others. Although "劇" is a common Chinese character, and also appeared in sources for the Qing rule in Taiwan, in the colonial period, this word obviously developed a new and specific usage.[94]

The usage of "*thuân*" 團 ("*dan*" in Japanese) and "*pan*" 班 ("*ban*" in Chinese *pinyin*) was similar. Troupes from Japan were called "*thuân*" or "*tsō*" 座 ("*za*" in Japanese). Troupes from China were called "*pan*." Troupes of Taiwanese classical theatre which originated from China were named "*pan*" as well. The usage of *kanji* "*dan*" in Japanese was learnt by the Taiwanese and was pronounced in *Tai-gi* as "*thuân.*" Ren Tianzhi was an example. He used "*thuân*," instead of "*pan*," when he named his troupe. Later, the usage of "*thuân*" was also adopted by *kua-a-hi* and *cai-ca-hi*.

To create or adopt a new name, new term or new usage is never occasional and meaningless. It represents the emergence of a new concept. For native theatre, using "*kiok*" instead of "*hì*," as well as using "*thuân*" instead of "*pan*," marked a Japanese-style of modernization.

In addition to observable modern forms and terms, there was another, deeper Japanese influence on theatre reform in Taiwan—"civilization." This was a new concept in this

[94] The modern usage of "*geki*" in Japanese was probably related to *engeki kairyō* as well. In particular, "*engeki*" might also be a new term created to cover new types of theatre in the movement. Traditionally, the general word for theatre was "*shibai*" 芝居. Individual genres would not be called "*geki*," either; examples include noh 能, *kyōgen* 狂言, *kabuki* 歌舞伎 and *jōruri* 淨瑠璃, etc.

era, introduced directly by Japan to Taiwan, and which affected the whole of Taiwanese society, including theatre. As was mentioned in Chapter Two, the standardized modern vocabularies were employed in discourses and debates about theatre. Between the 1900s and the 1930s, "civil," "reform" and "new" were the three major idioms for theatre. When it comes to "civil," the general idea was that the island was being increasingly civilized, so theatre also had to be civilized; theatre, along with newspapers and speech, were the three efficient instruments for civilization. In fact, "being civilized with each passing day" (文明日進) [95] and "efficient instruments for civilization" (文明利器)[96] had become idioms which would inevitably appear in descriptions and discourse about theatre. Then what is "civil" in people's minds? A common opinion was that theatre had to be new as well as the theatrical buildings themselves, because everything was being renewed on the island. "New" was equal to "civil," and is the deeper reason why "new" became a "must" for audiences in Taiwan. New productions, new versions of scripts, new musical compositions, new players, new stage settings, new costumes, etc., would inevitably appear in all kinds of introductions, critiques, descriptions, discourses and advertisements.[97] While Taiwanese audiences' taste for the "new" has already been analysed, we should note that this kind of tendency did not exist under Qing rule; at least, the sources do not show it. Therefore, the taste for the new came about because the whole of society was being "renewed," or modernized. Old forms and tradition were "weaknesses" for audiences in this period.[98] To them, theatre unable to abandon tradition would be "predestined to decline."[99]

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[95] For example, see *Tainan shinpō,* Feb. 19, 1930, p. 6. This examples will be disussed later.
[96] For example, see *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō,* Jul. 25, 1920, p. 5; Jul. 28, 1920, p. 6. These examples will be discussed later.
[97] For examples, see Hsu, *Rizhi shiqi Zhongguo xiban,* pp. 120; 183; 191-192; 229-231; *Rizhi shiqi Taiwan xiqu,* p. 85; Chiu Kun-Liang, *Jiuju yu xinju*, pp. 206-208.
[98] Kataoka, op.cit., pp. 215-216.
[99] Ibid., p. 216.

"Civil" also meant the involvement of national authority. Theatrical study would be supported by the government; the government would pay attention to theatre construction and organization; scripts would be censored by the government. Here we are able to find similarities to theatre reform to the Meiji era in Japan, where the authorities played an active role.

In this social climate, sometimes, troupes would also use the term "civil" in advertising. For example, "*peh-li-hi* of Tshing-lo̍k-hn̂g […] A special production, civil tragedy, *Tsîn Sè-bí*" (清樂園白字戲 […] 特排《秦世美》：文明悲劇);[100] "*Peh-li-hi* in Íng-lo̍k Theater […] *Teach Siong Lōo* […] a civil and good play with an especially bitter plot" (永樂座白字戲 […]《訓商路》之劇： […] 特別大苦情，文明好戲);[101] "*Tsia̍nn-im* troupe in Íng-lo̍k Theatre […] *Tông Sam-tsōng is Born*, a civil play with a sorrowful plot" (永樂座之正音班 […]《唐三藏出世》:文明悲情劇);[102] "Chaozhou troupe, which is performing in Íng-lo̍k Theatre […] a complete play of *Two Marriages*, a civil and great play" (在永樂座開演之潮洲班 […] 《雙招親》：全本文明大好戲).[103] Obviously, using the term "civil" is a strategy. However, why were these plays "civil," or how were they civil? This was never explained.

The descriptions or discourses of "civil" were often abstract. To the people, "civil" was more of a goal or an essence. Then what was the access to "civilization"? A representative description was from "Hì-kio̍k kái-liông lūn" 戲劇改良論 (A Discourse on Theatre Reform) by Khóo Tsú-bûn 許子文 (fl. 1904-1925), who

[100] *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, Apr. 20, 1922, p. 5.
[101] Ibid., Apr. 17, 1924, p. 6.
[102] Ibid., Jun. 17, 1924, p. 4.
[103] Ibid., Jul. 29, 1924, p. 4.

pointed out that “Although theatre is a minor thing, it is also an efficient instrument for civilization. It is worth reforming theatre. […] The civilization of Eastern and Western worlds can’t be founded without theatre, and can’t succeed without reform.” (戲雖小道，亦文明之利器，改之爲貴。[…] 東西洋之開化程度，莫不從戲劇中來也，莫不從改良上成也).[104] We can see that “reform,” which was usually connected with “civilization,” implies a method and practice to become civilized. When it comes to “reform,” the discourse and descriptions were more concrete and included more detail. Examples will be shown in the next section.

Theatre reform became a way of becoming civilized. Based on this thought, Taiwanese classical theatre often became a target to be attacked. The opinions of Ke Dingchou and Kataoka Iwao are representative of the ideas in that era. In “Taiwan no geki ni tsuite,” Ke criticized the actors in classical theatre in Taiwan as incompetent and as only able to stick to the old ways, incapable of creating new plays. In *Taiwan fūzoku shi,* Kataoka’s opinions were the following: 1) Stages and backstage were dirty, old and rough. 2) The costumes were dirty as well. 3) The actors were ignorant, and the teachers stick to the old ways. 4) For this reason, the actors’ actions were often mechanical and even disconnected with the plots. 5) Again for the same reason, they were incapable of innovation in theatre. 6) To conclude, classical theatre in Taiwan was seen to be in need of reform. The views of Taiwanese and Japanese intellectuals were not different. In the sources for the earlier Qing rule, classical theatre would sometimes be criticized as well. The reason was usually that theatrical activities might break social order because “salacious” plots would entice females; men and women would be together in a confined space; people gambled on these occasions; a lot of people gathering might cause trouble; and so on. But in the colonial period, the reason

[104] Ibid., Jul. 25, 1920, p. 5.

for the criticism was that classical theatre in Taiwan was not reformed; therefore, it would obstruct building a culture as well as the enlightenment of the public, or even stop the process of civilization altogether. To connect theatre with "enlightenment," "civilization" and "culture" of "the whole nation" was exactly the modern idea to Taiwanese people, brought about by theatre reform.

3. The development of the aesthetics of realism by form

The "reformed" form introduced from Japan and China started the pursuit of the aesthetics of realism in Taiwan. The first step was theatre design and technology. The following report is a representative example:

> According to a friend who returned from Shanghai, he has gone to New Stage to watch several performances. Players are outstanding and costumes are complete and immaculate. It is enough to strengthen the attraction. What's more, the stage is fully-equipped, just like the stage in Rising Sun Theatre, which is equipped with a mechanical axle that can turn easily. If the scene is set in mountains, rivers and multi-story buildings, the stage set will show real sights. It is enough to fascinate audiences, as if they are personally in the scene. If there are entertainment organizations established in Taiwan in the future, they cannot but be reformed to this extent.
>
> 據友人某自上海歸云：渠在該地曾數往新武[sic][105]臺觀劇，不獨腳色之超群、服裝之齊整，足壯觀瞻，就其臺中設備，亦極周到。如現在朝日座所設武臺，中置機軸，可以旋轉如意。若演山川樓閣之劇，則出其真景，足令觀者心迷目眩，如臨其境。臺灣以後欲設娛樂機關，不可不改良至此地位也！[106]

[105] This is a misprint in the original text. The correct word should be "舞."
[106] *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō,* Aug. 11, 1910, p. 5.

This description clearly shows that the Shanghai-style (New Stage) and Japanese-style (Rising Sun Theatre) were viewed as a model for native reform. To Taiwanese audiences, “reformed form,” firstly, meant a real and novel stage setting, real properties, and fashionable costumes. “Mechanical stage effects” (機關布景) was especially a “must” on stage. In other reports, “mechanical stage effects” were always the focus. Additionally, we also find such things as “real knife and spear,” “mountain scenery and water scenery,” “palace,” “royal garden,” and “nine-bends bridge,” in the reports. As with the typical example above, all descriptions emphasize “vivid,” “remarkably true to life” or “absolutely lifelike,” as well as “beautiful,” “special,” “novel” or “delicate,” and so on.

To match the theme of real events, the form naturally had to represent reality. Therefore it became an important mission for stage sets. The development of realism in themes and in form was interaction. Because the industrial revolution had increased material conditions, it had also led to progress in theatre design and technology, which in turn made it possible to create “vivid stage scenery.” It stimulated the pursuit of realism in themes. Realist themes would return to command the realism on stage. In Taiwan, “mechanical stage effects,” as well as current or real events themes, were two strands of “reform.”

The pursuit of the aesthetics of realism would not stop at stage settings. The two descriptions below reveal that it included “performance” and “plot.”

> In terms of Reformed theatre, singing and intonation is not so important. In fact, singing and intonation is not needed, in order not to vary the form. Besides, a

good play should fit with the facts. For example, to play a Western story, players must be made up and behave like Westerners; to play a Chinese story, players must make up and behave like Chinese, in order to be absolutely lifelike.
顧改良戲，不重唱念，且無須乎唱唸，防乖體例也。又其戲以能恰合實情者爲佳。譬如事爲西洋人，則扮演不可不如西洋人；事爲支那人，則扮演亦不可不如支那人，以期唯妙。[107]

It is strange that troupes on the island usually do not pay attention to it. As a result, plays only have emotions but lack logic. When it comes to Reformed theatre, even without singing and intonation, it is naturally touching. Therefore the performance skill is indispensable.
常怪本島劇界于此多不留心，以致有戲情無戲理。觀夫改良戲，不用唱念，而自然動人，則知做功真不可少矣！[108]

From the descriptions, we can find that the characteristics of reformed theatre, such as the replacing of singing and specific speaking tones with colloquialisms, was quite acceptable to Taiwanese audiences and was approved. The approval of reformed theatre was naturally caused by the appreciation of the new aesthetics of realism. The abstract concept of "realism" is in the "performance" and "plot." Therefore, plots had to be logical, reasonable and to "match with reality," and could not simply display emotions or feelings. To display emotions and feelings was the chief characteristic of the lyrical tradition of Chinese theatre. The description quoted above implies that, during this period, Taiwanese audiences were not satisfied with the lyrical tradition, but wanted a new performing style. The players' actions had to match with the roles,

[107] Ibid., Sep. 03, 1910, p. 5.
[108] Ibid., Nov. 06, 1916, p. 6.

especially when there might be a comparison between "Westerners" and "Chinese." "To match with roles" did not mean to follow the traditional stylized actions for different role classifications any longer, but meant to show the real behaviour of people in daily life.

As this new aesthetics of realism continued to develop, it inevitably began to clash with the traditional aesthetics of symbolism. The following criticism clearly reflects this. An author, Siáu-gâm 少𠊎,[109] criticized traditional theatre in Taiwan in his "An Opinion on Taiwanese Theatre" (台灣演劇的管見) in 1930:

> How can we view their plays as theatre? A horsewhip is considered a precious horse. A turn is regarded as a journey of a thousand miles. To use a pair of big loop-shaped knives made of wood and to turn them twice is equal to fight hundreds times. Four soldiers are viewed as "an army of 720,000 people that invades Jiangnan and is impossible to be annihilated." Therefore the poorest is the audience, who willingly and patiently stands all day long to look up at a stage. It really is incomprehensible.
>
> 牠[sic][110]們所演的劇，哪裡是劇？ […] 一支馬鞭當作是一疋名駒，轉一彎，算得是千里行程了。使兩柄柴製大環刀，轉兩轉，便是會戰數百合。四個兵勇算得是七十二萬兵馬大下江南，任殺殺不盡的。那末最可憐就是觀眾了，心願地耐著性子站著，終日向臺上觀望，實在令人不可解呀！[111]

Another author criticized performances of the Yuanzhengxing 源正興 troupe:

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[109] This is a pen name. The real name is unknown.
[110] This is a misprint in the original text. The correct word should be "他."
[111] *Taiwan shinminhō*, Sep. 13, 1930, p. 11.

When presenting and reporting in front of a monarch, two or more people speak the same sentence at the same time. This is not merely unreasonable, but also disturbs the listeners' ears. People who know it will disagree with it, and will not watch it again after the first glance.

朝君報主時，二人或數人同時並說一樣話，不特無此理，且混聽者之耳鼓。識者咸不以爲然，一瞥不復顧。[112]

Still another author criticized traditional theatre:

In terms of make-up, think about Ma Su in *A Stratagem of Empty City,* who is a scholarly general but studies military strategy mechanically and is self-opinionated. As a result, Jieting is lost by him. So we know that he is a scholar. However, the players' faces are coloured with black and white make-up. It is really inappropriate. […] In addition, as for *The Third Wife Teaches the Son,* when playing the old servant of the small family, Xue Bao, the player, wears a dark green silk robe and a white silk skirt. Even the performer who plays the chaste widow Wang Chun'e wears make-up and has pearls and jade on the head. It does not fit with the plot.

其化裝乎，試觀《空城計》之馬謖，原爲儒將死讀兵書，師心自用，致有街亭之失，則爲士人可知。而扮演者之臉上乃黑白參差，實爲不倫不類。[…] 且如演《三娘教子》一劇，裝小家老奴之薛寶，而乃身服深綠緞袍，腰束白紡綢裙。即裝節婦之王春娥，亦竟爾抹粉塗脂，滿頭珠翠。此又與戲情。最爲不合。[113]

[112] *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō,* Jun. 18, 1921, p. 4.
[113] Ibid., Aug. 05, 1920, p. 6.

The actions, make-up, costumes and stage properties of which they are critical belonged to the symbolic tradition. Traditionally, audiences would learn this symbolic system gradually through their watching experiences. The make-up of Ma Su and Wang Chun'e was not the "real appearance" of these roles, but symbolizes their personality or status. The materials of the costumes or headdresses did not matter; it was the style that symbolized the status of characters or the situation of the roles. "A horsewhip symbolized a horse" as well as "Four soldiers symbolized an army" was easily understood by traditional audiences. Players' performances in war or court scenes were also stylized actions, which traditional audiences would understand without "theory training." However, the first author now became "unable to realize" the audiences' interest in aesthetics. He even rejected that symbolic theatre is "real theatre." The other two authors also implied that symbolic techniques had to be "reformed."

The pursuit of absolute realism tended to result in substituting film for classical theatre, as this opinion shows: "In terms of most players, they are impossible to play new theatre which keeps up with the times. Their plays are hackneyed and incapable of entertaining. It would be better to substitute film for their plays." (顧諸優伶絕不能演合時新劇，且腐敗不堪娛目，不如易以活動寫真).[114] In 1930, there was a similar description about the trends in entertainment in Taiwan:

> "Now society is civilized with each passing day. General entertainments are also on trend. Popular theatre in Taiwan has changed from Beijing opera to *kageki*/*kua-kiók*. Currently, film already takes the place of *kageki/kua-kiók.* Therefore now, no matter where in Taiwan, film is popular."

[114] Ibid., Jul. 15, 1920, p. 5.

方今文明日進，一般人心娛樂，多驅[sic][115]時勢之變遷。如我臺劇界，多由京班而趨於歌劇，現已由歌劇而進入活動寫真。故我臺現在不論何處皆流行影片。[116]

The above two descriptions demonstrate a viewpoint of "evolution," which was also a generally held view at the time. The direct influence from this view on theatre was to obtain film elements to show more precise realism, which gave birth to "*rensageki*" 連鎖劇 (chain theatre).

In *rensageki*, some scenes are replaced with film clips. Films and stage performances take place by turns in a play. *Rensageki* originated in 1904, when a *shimpa* troupe in Tokyo produced a play about Russo-Japanese War, *Seiro no kōgun* 征露の皇軍 (The Royal Army that Fought against Russia). In order to show that the enemy's warships were hit by torpedoes and sank, the troupe used a newsreel of foreign naval manoeuvres. The first *rensageki* play was *Onna samurai* 女さむらい (Female Samurai) in 1908, and the leading role was Sawamura Gennosuke IV 四代目沢村源之助 (1859-1936). It was performed in Miyato Za 宮戸座 (Miyato Theatre) in Asakusa 浅草, the centre of popular theatre.[117] *Rensageki*, which took advantage of the visual effects of the newest media, soon became very popular. It shared the major market with *shimpa* and even caused debates among *shimpa* troupes. Some *shimpa* players did not accept it as "orthodox" theatre, whereas other *shimpa* players attended this kind of performance.[118]

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[115] This is a misprint in the original text. The correct word should be "趨."
[116] *Tainan shinpō,* Feb. 19, 1930, p. 6.
[117] Ōzasa, op.cit., pp. 140-141. Popular theatre was distinguishable from *shingeki* movements, which would emphasize exploration, experiment and the practice of theatre theory, and would especially introduce Western theory and works. For an account of popular theatre, see Kawatake Shigetoshi, *Gaisetsu Nihon engekishi*, pp. 416-430.
[118] Ōzasa, op.cit., pp. 140-141; Satō Tadao, *Nihon eigashi I,* pp. 124-125.

Rensageki could not be separated from the theme of modernity. Film clips were used for scenes such as a modern naval battle, a motor car accident, or an approaching train. These scenes were difficult to be represent "vividly" on stage. The emergence of *rensageki* demonstrates an intention to pursue complete realism.

In 1915, *rensageki* was introduced to Taiwan for the first time. According to *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō,* until the Second Sino-Japanese War, almost every year a *rensageki* troupe would arrive.[119] In reports, it was usually called "*shimpa rensageki,*" which meant "*rensageki* of *shimpa.*" This clearly indicates that *rensageki* derived from *shimpa*. These troupes would travel all over the island. The report of *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* on 5th March, 1916 pointed to the key characteristic of *rensageki* and the feeling of native audiences: "Films are screened when scenery is being changed. Until the final curtain, the stage setting is changed ceaselessly; it is very dazzling." (於換幕間放映電影，至落幕爲止，幾無間斷地活用舞臺，可說最叫人眼花撩亂)[120] Furthermore, some troupes, such as the Mutsumi Dan and Futaba Kai, would shoot film clips in Taiwan for new plays.[121] In 1922, a troupe from Shanghai, the Beijing Opera Troupe of Tiansheng (天勝京班), also performed this form.[122] Undoubtedly, this was under the influence from Japan. However, this form was not as popular or as successful in China as in Japan.[123]

In spring of 1923, a native *rensageki* troupe, Pó-lâi Thuân; Hōrai Dan 寶萊團 (Pó-lâi

[119] See appendix 3-3.
[120] *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, Mar. 5, 1916, p. 7.
[121] Ibid., Apr. 20, 1915, p. 7; May. 23, 1918, p. 7.
[122] Lin Ho-Yi, *Cong tianye chufa,* pp. 36-37.
[123] *Zhongguo jingjushi*, pp. 372-373.

Company), was organized.[124] It was also a troupe that imitated Takamatsu's reformed theatre/*seigeki*.[125] During 1923 and 1924, there were reports of native *rensageki* troupes, as the table shows.

Table 3-2 Reports of local *rensageki* troupes

Year	Reported date	Troupe
1923	04 Oct	Pó-lâi Thuân, Taiwanese reformed theatre (臺灣改良劇)
1924	09; 11 Oct	Taiwan Seigeki Dan (臺灣正劇團)
1924	08 Dec	culture troupe (文化劇團), Taiwanese reformed theatre (臺灣改良劇)

All of these reports were very likely to refer to the Pó-lâi Company because the names or descriptions were either "Taiwanese reformed theatre" or "Taiwan *seigeki*," and according to the newspapers, Pó-lâi was active in these two years. This theatrical form was adopted by the *kua-a-hi* and *cai-ca-hi* troupes as well.

In a *rensageki* performance, in addition to backdrop, there was stage scenery on the left and right. The three sides of the scenery were higher than the screen. The backdrop was also movable. The stage properties would be fixed in a way so as not to conceal the frame of the screen. When a scene on stage had ended, the stage lights would be turned off, and the backdrop moved away immediately. The stage lights were turned on again, and the film would begin. After the scene had ended, the stage lights would be turned off again and the actors had to quickly take their places in

[124] *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, Oct. 4, 1923, p. 6.
[125] Shih, op.cit., p. 79.

darkness. When the lights were turned on again, the actors would resume the performance. The actors on stage and in the film were the same.[126] Therefore, the *rensageki* players in fact practiced two kinds of performing arts.

To produce a *rensageki* play, there would be a team to shoot the film and projection; theatre design and technology; and lighting. This kind of theatre needed modern theatrical technology. Traditional stage staff were not capable of such a production. This form was also based on indoor theatre; as an outdoor, a temporary stage was not practical. Therefore in Taiwan, when commercial theatre decreased after the 1960s, *rensageki* also disappeared.[127]

4. The development of the aesthetics of realism by theme

The other strand to "reform," current events themes, was introduced by Chinese troupes in large numbers. These plays would depict criminal cases as well as retribution. The first social event play by a Chinese troupe appeared in 1907. The play was *Divine Retribution for Killing the Son* by a Fuzhou troupe, the Xiangsheng Troupe (Xiangsheng Ban 祥陞班). It was a social event at Tongzhou 通州, which was also one of "The Four Surprising Cases" (Sida qi'an 四大奇案) in the Qing Dynasty, during the reigns of the Tongzhi 同治 (1862-1874) and Guangxu 光緒 (1875-1908) emperors.[128] This kind of theme was obviously very popular in Taiwan. Hsu discovered that by the mid-1920s, Chinese troupes adapted many events that had occurred in the late Qing or republic periods. He found 22 plays.[129] I further discover 30 plays by searching through the newspapers.[130] Most of plays were marked

[126] Lü Su-Shang, *Taiwan dianying,* pp. 283-284; Satō, loc.cit.
[127] Su Hsiu-Ting, *Taiwan Kejia gailiangxi*, p. 67.
[128] Hsu, *Rizhi shiqi Zhongguo xiban,* pp. 150-151.
[129] Ibid., pp. 152-153.
[130] See appendix 3-4.

"surprising case." A few were marked "retribution." Why did troupes especially use the words "surprising case" in titles? Or why were there so many "surprising case" plays? The reason could be that hunting for novelty was an important feature of *haipai*, corresponding to its pursuit of new and novel stage settings, costumes, acrobatic performances and so on.

This kind of theme was soon adopted by native troupes of *tshit-tsu-pan*, *peh-li-hi, kau-kah, lan-than, xi-pin,* glove puppet and Beijing opera,[131] almost every performance types. It was therefore a mainstream of this era. Similarly, the majority of plays were often entitled with "surprising case." Another major title was "retribution." Some plays were popular, performed by many troupes of different types. The performing records of 1927 in the table were from *Taiwan ni okeru Shina engeki kyū Taiwan engekichō* by Chen Quanyong. In the investigation, Chen recorded plays of every troupe and indicate the typical plays of a troupe. When social event plays were recorded as typical plays of a troupe, they may be seen as being popular. A contemporary report also shows the new trend:

> Kiōng-lo̍k Teahouse from Hsinchu is newly reformed *tshit-tsu-pan*, like the Pó-hing and Hô-sing troupes in Tainan. […] Originally, Kiōng-lo̍k Teahouse came to the Great Stage to perform for over 10 days, but audiences were quite few. Daily income was over 10 taels of silver. These days, all of the plays are surprising and exciting criminal cases. […] It caters for women and the lower classes the most. Although the majority of audiences bought third class seats, the income of a day and night gained nearly 100 yuan. It is a good situation indeed.

[131] See appendix 3-5.

新竹共樂茶園係七子班新改良。如臺南之寶興班、和聲班。[…] 共樂茶園初來大舞臺開演十餘天，觀客甚稀，每日收入十餘金。近日所演皆是奇案疑獄，[…] 最投婦人女子及下等人之嗜好。雖是三等客居多，但一日夜觀資總收入亦多近百圓，可謂好況云。[132]

In order to save box office, this troupe changed to playing social events, and this strategy worked immediately. So-called "women" and "lower classes" seemed to imply a concept of "the masses." The audiences in this new era began to like suspense, human nature as well as straightforward and rapid retribution. We are able to find that this kind of theatrical taste continues throughout the following century and is universal in modern society.

The social and current events plays influenced the development of native themes. Four representative native plays were composed after the 1920s and were all named as "surprising case"—*A Surprising Case in Tainan, A Surprising Case in Taipei, A Surprising Case in Changhua and A Surprising Case along the Tainan Canal.* We can see that the development of realistic theme in Taiwan was mainly the adaptation of criminal cases and social events. Realism in Taiwan meant the performance of this kind of social actualities. This was the obvious influence of *haipai*. The deeper reason was the influence of Japanese theatre reform and the related concept of civilization. This deeper factor was due to the colonial context, and will be discussed in the next section.

In addition to modern methods, the modern aesthetics of realism in themes also made native classical theatre different from what it was during the Qing rule, and shaped a

[132] *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō,* Mar. 12, 1919, p. 6.

new Taiwanese classical theatre.

5. “Deviation” from Japanese theatre reform

Themes of theatre reform in Japan and China display different emphases, though both were theatrical modernization movements. In Japan, Westernization and its achievement were a central idea. So there were a large number of Western themes, translated scripts, and plays about Sino-Japanese or Russo-Japanese wars, which exhibited rising national power after Westernization. By contrast, in China, themes of theatre reform show a strong sense of crisis and national decline. However, neither was a characteristic in Taiwan. Instead, social events were extraordinarily popular. This kind of theme was generally considered to be “marginal” in Chinese theatre reform, but it became the “mainstream” in Taiwan. To people in Taiwan, “reformed themes” were equal to “current events” (時事) and “real events” (實事). Newspapers show that it had become a very general and common idea at that time. We can say that if there were no themes of current and real events, there would have been no “reformed theatre.”

The origin of this thought still has to be traced back to the Japanese theatre reform. As the Religious Education Ministry actions in 1872 show, the encouraging of good and punishing of evil (勸善懲惡), as well as reforming customs, were proclaimed and regulated by the Meiji government. They looked like traditional themes, but the old themes were defined as a new national policy. It was now defined as a “reformed” characteristic and further, a way of reforming society, and eventually becoming a foundation for a civilized state, which was always the ambition from the beginning of the Meiji Restoration.

When the mission of theatre became to reform customs, themes of "encouragement and punishment" (勸懲) would naturally become the centre. Therefore, the description and discourse of theatre reform could never be separated from lessons (教訓) or retribution (報應). The following description is a representative example:

> In a civil world, good is chosen and evil is abandoned. It is especially necessary for the reform of customs. To reform customs, the first should be theatre. For example, *wenmingxi* which is currently performed at the Íng-lo̍k Theatre in Taipei, is true reform. Current affairs are performed to encourage good and to punish evil. It shows a fact of retribution immediately after evildoings, in order to make audiences vigilant at the sight and learn a lesson naturally and unconsciously. Is it not beneficial to the world?
> 文明之世，擇善捨惡，而於風俗改良，尤爲必要。欲改良風俗，當以劇界爲先。如目下臺北永樂座所開演之文明戲，可謂得其改良之實。該劇所演現今實事，寓有勸善懲惡之意；現作現報之實，使觀者觸目警心。於不知不覺之間，自然得其教訓。其有益於世豈淺少哉！[133]

Troupes in this era would often emphasize that the themes of their plays were about "encouraging good and punishing evil," "royal courtiers and dutiful sons, as well as righteous men and chaste women" (忠臣孝子，義夫節婦), "warning mankind" (警世), "justice of the gods and retribution" (天理報應). When these abstract ideas were put into practice, it is the interest of the theme of social events and retribution.

Additionally, the rise of social and current events plays was also related to the appearance of newspapers. There were columns dedicated to social news. Not only

[133] *Tainan shinpō,* Sep. 28, 1924, p. 9.

public events, but private affairs could also be communicated at a rapid speed over a wide area. As a result, a large number of social and current events plays were produced rapidly. Chinese troupes in Taiwan, whether from Shanghai, Fuzhou, Chaozhou, or elsewhere, would all use this kind of theme. This arguably reflected the tastes of the audience in Taiwan. To Taiwanese, perhaps the taste for social news plays was similar to the recent habit of reading newspapers. To watch social events on a stage may be like to watch three-dimensional news. As one description indicated, "There are three efficient instruments of civilization. Theatre is one of them. For civilization, it is as effective as news." (文明之利器有三，演戲亦居其一。蓋開化之道，與新聞同功也。)[134] Nevertheless, this ideal was put into practice in an unexpected way. Indeed, theatre functioned as newspapers in this era, but only for social news. This "efficient instrument for civilization" was used thoroughly, but obviously was also "misused."

In fact, this aspect was discovered and criticized. People who were not satisfied with the "social-news-type of realism" suggested ideas for theatre reform and modernization. The following is a typical idea of "what should be the correct theatre reform."

> Choosing which is able to be domesticated to advance a little, in order to establish the foundation for reform. Then change its costumes, study its music carefully, paint its stages vividly and adjust its stage properties. For example, in *Immortal Music*, do not value a cure-all, but put the most effort in hygiene. In *A-Hundred-Years-Old Street*, do not treasure dignitaries, but success by labour. In *Buy Rouge* and *Sell Charcoal*, delete the obscene parts and display

[134] *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō,* Jul. 28, 1920, p. 6.

love and affection vividly. In *A Battle Formation for Killing Deities*, substitute with the modern experiments of physics and chemistry. In *Join in a Martial Arts Contest*, substitute the practices of wrestling of our country. In *Green Bamboo Viper* and *Zhuque Fortress*, focus on detection methods.

就可馴良者而稍進之，以爲改良之本。夫而後變通其服飾，精究其樂曲，活畫其舞臺，折衷其器用。若《長生樂》，不以仙丹爲寶，而盡力於衛生。若《百歲坊》，不以顯者爲貴，而成功於勞働。若《買胭脂》、《賣火炭》，猥褻之處，削而除之；戀愛之情，神而化之。若《誅仙陣》，亦[sic][135]以當代理化之實驗。若《打雷檯》，改以我邦角力之實習。若《青竹絲》、《朱雀關》，則專注乎探偵之術。[136]

This idea in fact matched with the practice of the *kua-a-hi* troupes in the *kominka* movement. A typical example, which is commonly cited by researchers, is that: "to replace [Chinese] court with a company; to replace a [Chinese] emperor with a president; to replace a [Chinese] prime minister with a managing director; to replace [Chinese] officials with staff; to wear modern clothes."[137] It is generally considered that theatrical modernization was initiated by the *kominka* movement. Precisely speaking, *kominka* urged Taiwanese classical theatre to accept Japanese elements. However, the above description shows that by 1920, the drive towards modernization had already begun. This is not a single case. In the same period, others would also suggest replacing ancient war plots with modern war scenes, or to replace ancient court scenes with modern and world scenes. This may also explain why Taiwanese classical theatre, such as *kua-a-hi*, *cai-ca-hi*, glove puppetry and shadow theatre were able to wear Japanese clothes and survive the *kominka* campaign. Further,

[135] This is a misprint in the original text. The correct word should be "易."
[136] *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō,* Jul. 29, 1920, p. 6.
[137] Lü, op.cit., p. 323.

modernization in Taiwan included Japanization at the same time, or, in other words, the modernization was a Japanese style, since it was introduced and practised by the Japanese government. Therefore, there was no difficulty for those kinds of classical theatres to adopt modern or Japanese styles of dress, including the wearing of *katana* (samurai swords).

III. Another kind of modern theatre introduced to Taiwan—*kageki*/opera

In addition to *shimpa* and Kawakami's works, there was another kind of modern theatre imported by Japan. This was *opera*/*kageki* (歌劇). Western opera was introduced to Japan in the mid-1890s.[138] It was translated into Japanese *kanji* "歌劇" (*kageki*) and transliterated into *katakana* as "オペラ" (*opera*).[139] This term in Japan developed a broader meaning. It could refer to operas, operettas, musicals, revues, shows, etc., in which music was an important element. In the 1910s, the Japanese began to establish opera troupes. These so-called "opera troupes" did not play authentic Western opera. In 1911, Teikoku Gekijō Kageki Bu 帝国劇場歌劇部 (The Opera Department of Empire Theatre) was established. Most of their plays were in fact operetta. They also began to create new plays with Japanese themes.[140] In 1913, the Takarazuka Shōjo Kageki Dan 宝塚少女歌劇團 (Takarazuka Young Girls' Opera Company) was formed. As the name shows, the performers were young girls. They received training in Western dances and vocalism. Plays were new creations and similar to operettas and musicals.[141] In 1917, the Takagi Tokuko troupe 高木徳子

[138] Ōzasa Yoshio, *Nihon gendai engekishi— Taishō・Shōwa shoki hen,* p. 17.
[139] Ibid.
[140] Ibid., pp. 23-29.
[141] Ibid., p. 102.

(1891-1919),[142] Nippon Kageki Kyōkai 日本歌劇協會 (Japan Opera Association), Tokyo Kageki Za 東京歌劇座 (Tokyo Opera Company) and Tokyo Shōjo Kageki Dan 東京少女歌劇團 (Tokyo Young Girls' Opera Company) performed at Asakusa, the most popular and famous theatre district in Tokyo. This marked the rise of Asakusa *opera* 浅草オペラ (Asakusa opera).[143] Following them, a lot of opera troupes began to appear. In 1921, a competitor to the Takarazuka company, Shōchiku Kaisha Gakugeki Bu 松竹会社楽劇部 (The Music Theatre Department of Shōchiku Company), was established. The name was later changed to Shōchiku Shōjo Kageki Dan 松竹少女歌劇團 (Shōchiku Young Girls' Opera Company).[144] None of these opera companies were Western opera troupes as such. Rather, they used elements of Western music and dance to create a modern Japanese style of singing and dancing theatre. Magic troupes also had *kageki*/opera programs, in which magic tricks would be added. The most representative was the troupe of Shōkyokusai Tenkatsu 松旭斎天勝 (1886-1944).[145]

These three kinds of Japanese opera, namely, Asakusa opera, magic opera and young girls' opera, were all introduced to Taiwan. Many of the representative troupes mentioned above travelled to Taiwan, as a matter of fact. Asakusa opera spread to Taiwan in the year when it was unveiled. Nippon Kageki Kyōkai played in Asakusa for the first time in 1917 from April to June, and then traveled to Taiwan that October. It was the first opera troupe coming to Taiwan. It brought the play, *Onnagun shussei* 女軍出征 (A Female Army on Campaign), which marked the birth of Asakusa opera. This troupe travelled to Taipei, Taichung, Tainan, Chiayi, Kaohsiung and Pingtung. In

[142] The real name of this troupe is unclear.
[143] Ōzasa Yoshio, *Nihon gendai engekishi— Taishō・Shōwa shoki hen,* p. 35; 61; 73-74.
[144] Ibid., p. 111.
[145] Ibid., p. 41

the next year, 1918, the Shōkyokusai Tenka 松旭斎天華 troupe (?-?) arrived in Taiwan. These performers belonged to the same magic school as Tenkatsu. Following Tenka, in 1919, the famous Tenkatsu Company visited Taiwan. From 1920, Tokyo Kageki Za visited Taiwan several times. Tokyo Shōjo Kageki Dan travelled to Taiwan many times from 1927. From 1935, Shōchiku Shōjo Kageki Dan also came to Taiwan three times. Throughout the colonial period, many *kageki*/opera troupes continually travelled to Taiwan, even during the war. Between 1917 and 1940, there were opera*/kageki* performances almost every year.[146] Many troupes came to Taiwan repeatedly. They usually travelled the whole island, and some would stay for several months. Young girls' opera especially aroused attention and the interest of the public, just as in the home country. The magic troupes, Tenkatsu and Tenka, were also quite influential. The reports also show that the three kinds of opera were often connected with each other. Young girls' opera companies would hire players from opera or magic opera troupes as teachers. Opera or magic opera companies would sometimes arrange young girls' opera as one of their programmes.

In 1919, Japanese settlers in Taiwan also wanted to form an opera troupe. The Taiwan Engei Sha 臺灣演藝社 (Taiwan Performing Arts Company) was established at the Tetsudō Hoteru 鐵道ホテル (Railway Hotel) in Taipei.[147] However, this project did not succeed. Then in 1920, a troupe of young girls' opera was successfully formed. This company was named Takasago Kageki Kyōkai 高砂歌劇協會 (Takasago Opera Association) or Takasago Shōjo Kageki Dan 高砂少女歌劇團 (Takasago Young Girl's Opera Company). Between the 17th and the 19th century, Japanese called Taiwan *Takasago koku* 高砂國. In the colonial period, *Takasago* 高砂 was still used

[146] See appendix 3-6.
[147] *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō,* Apr. 19, 1919, p. 7.

to refer to Taiwan.[148] The teachers were players from Tenkatsu Company.[149] Takasago Company was the focus of attention from the beginning and was frequently reported in newspapers. It traveled the whole island and was very popular wherever they went. In addition to theatres, it would be invited to play at garden parties at the residence of the Governor-General or in elementary schools.[150] It is interesting to note that it was also hired to perform at the Mengjia Theatre. Mengjia was a well-known red-light district at that time and in fact the troupe was hired to perform for sex workers there.[151] Therefore, their audiences were from children to adults, from the top to the bottom of society. This troupe wrote a play with a Taiwanese theme, *Go Hō to seiban* 吳鳳と生蕃 (Wu Feng and the Barbarians).[152]

After the Takasago Company, in 1934, Taiwan Joyū Kageki Dan; Taiwan Lú-iu Kua-kiȯk Thuân 臺灣女優歌劇團 (Taiwan Female Opera Company) was established in Taipei. It was also influenced by Tenkatsu or Tenka because there was a programme of magic tricks.[153] In the same year, a Taiwanese merchant in Changhua, Luā Puȧt-siȯk 賴拔俗 (?-?), organized an opera troupe as well. It was an imitation of Japanese opera troupe because the name was Shōchiku Kageki Dan; Siông-tiok Kua-kiȯk Thuân 松竹歌劇團 (Shōchiku Opera Company) and the programmes contained skits, (*sungeki* 寸劇), dance and magic tricks, which was obviously again the influence of Tenkatsu or Tenka.[154]

During the war, both Japanese and Taiwanese continued to arrange opera

[148] Inō Yoshinori, *Taiwan wenhuazhi,* p. 33.
[149] *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō,* Jun. 1, 1920, p. 7.
[150] Ibid., Dec. 30, 1920, p. 5; Apr. 20, 1921, p. 4.
[151] Ibid., Dec. 21, 1920, p. 7.
[152] Ibid., Nov. 3, 1920, p. 4; Nov. 4, 1920, p. 4.
[153] *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō, yūkan* (evening paper), Jan. 25, 1934, p. 2.
[154] *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō,* Aug. 15, 1934, p. 8.

performances, however now it was mobilized purposely under the *kominka* campaign; opera became propaganda and no longer pure entertainment.

IV. The birth of Taiwaneseness and Taiwanese reformed theatre/Taiwanese opera

1. The demand for "Taiwaneseness" in theatre

In this mainstream of theatre reform, Taiwaneseness was born. The term or concept of "Taiwanese reformed theatre" (臺灣改良戲) appeared. The aesthetics of realism brought about by *shimpa*, creations of Kawakami and Takamatsu, *haipai* of Beijing opera and *wenmingxi*, inspired people in Taiwan to ask for Taiwanese realism; that is, not only showing reality, but further showing a "Taiwanese reality," as the following descriptions shows:

> In China, reformed theatre style is advocated by Wang Xiaonong in Shanghai. He has quite a few followers. Old theatre on the island is incapable of it, certainly. However, since there are Shanghai troupes in Taiwan, it is not necessarily impossible. Is there any enthusiastic person in those troupes? If there is, then there are lots of Taiwanese stories, which are able to be performed ceaselessly.
> 支那改良戲之風，固自上海汪笑儂倡之，其後已頗有繼之者。本島舊劇界固難望此。然既有上海班在，必非不能也！不知該班中亦有熱心者否？苟其有之，則臺灣故事盡多，已可演個不了矣！[155]

> We hope that in addition to singing and notation, the troupe will change spoken dialogues to *Tai-gi* to create an especially Taiwanese reformed theatre.

[155] Ibid., Oct. 28, 1909, p. 5.

吾人惟望該班除唱念而外，科白一概改用臺語，爲臺灣特別改良戲。[156]

Based on the skills of the players, content of plays, forms of stages, fresh costumes, shareholders' efforts and harmony of music, Taiwan possesses Taiwanese characteristics of its own. How could Taiwan not possess a Taiwanese instinct?
夫以伶人之技術、戲劇之內容、舞臺之形式、衣服之清鮮、股東之努力、音樂之調和，臺灣自有臺灣之特色，臺灣寧無臺灣之本能？[157]

Recently, there has arrived a troupe of *wenmingxi*, Pó-lâi Company. The performances started in the evening of 26th at the South Theatre. The troupe imitates European and American theatre to reform. All they choose for production are the island's old and current stories. People will be deeply moved through seeing and hearing these. The scenes are touching. It is not like old theatre, which merely emphasizes decoration. Therefore, it is called "civilized theatre."
頃有寶來團文明戲一班，自廿六夜起開演於南座。該班則仿歐米諸劇改良之，悉就本島古今故事排演。深能動人觀聽，感人情景，非如舊劇徒事裝飾。故曰：「文明戲」。[158]

Taiwanese reformed theatre included *Taiwan-gi* and Taiwanese themes. To audiences in Taiwan, theatre with these two Taiwanese characteristics would be able to show the reality in Taiwan. With the aim to show a "complete realism for Taiwan," Takamatsu's theatre still needed to take a step, as the following critique indicates: "Reformed theatre on the island […]. The speech is in the island's languages. It is also finding a

[156] *Tainan shinpō,* May. 28, 1924, p. 5.
[157] Ibid., May. 03, 1930, p. 6.
[158] Ibid., Nov. 27, 1923, p. 5.

new way from the old theories. However, players are trained by Japanese and their posture and manner are not entirely appropriate to situations yet." (本島改良戲 […] 其口白悉用島語，亦□推陳出新。惟係內地人所教，體態舉止，未能悉中時宜。)[159]

The gestures of players probably followed the style of Japanese *shimpa*. To Taiwanese audiences, it still did not represent the "real" actions or manners of the Taiwanese. It also shows that "Taiwanese realism" had developed its own meaning and did not simply copy a Japanese style.

2. The birth of Taiwanese reformed theatre

Native troupes responded to the Taiwanese audiences' demand for a Taiwanese version of theatre reform. Takamatsu's troupe was run between 1909 and 1919. In 1918, another kind of Taiwanese reformed theatre was born, according to the description of Ueyama Gisaku in "Taiwan geki ni tsuisuru kōsatsu."

> Near the end of the seventh year of Taishō, the Guangdong community[160] in Hsinchu developed a kind of theatre called "reformed theatre," which was derived from the *kageki* mentioned above.
> 大正七年末頃より、前述歌劇より變化したる、一名改良劇を新竹方面の廣東人間に於て案出されたり。[161]

From later reports, as the examples below show, we can see that this new kind of Taiwanese reformed theatre was *kua-a-hi* and *cai-ca-hi.* "*Cai-ca-hi* and *kua-a-hi* are

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[159] *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō,* Jun. 19, 1910, p. 5.
[160] In the sources for the Japanese colonial period, the "Guangdong community" in Taiwan referred to *Hakka* people.
[161] Ueyama, op.cit., p. 91.

given the dignified names '*peh-li-hi*' or 'reformed troupe'" (採茶、歌仔戲，美其名稱曰：「白字戲」、曰：「改良班」).[162] "*Peh-li-hi*, which is currently played at the South Theatre in Chiayi City, is called 'reformed theatre,' but it is actually *cai-ca-hi*" (嘉義街南座目下所演之白字戲，稱爲「改良劇」，實乃採茶戲也).[163]

However, it was different from previous *pun-te kua-a* and *sam-giog cai-ca*. *Pun-te kua-a* and *sam-giog cai-ca* were very simple types. There were usually only two or three players. They often played outdoors and on the ground, never in theatres. Make-up was simple and players did not wear costumes, only everyday clothes. The plays were brief and plots were simple. Further, *pun-te kua-a* was amateur entertainment.[164] By the 1910s, they were not even viewed as "theatre" by researchers.

On the other hand, *kua-a-hi* and *cai-ca-hi* were called reformed theatre and were an agglomeration of various kinds of theatre in Taiwan by that time. First, they obtained songs from the *pun-te kua-a* and *sam-giog cai-ca* traditions, which were undoubtedly the newest and most popular music in Taiwanese society at that time; it was also why they were called *kua-a-hi* and *cai-ca-hi*. Then, from the beginning, the troupes only had female players, while members of *pun-te kua-a* were all male. "Female players" were a fashion introduced by the *haipai* Beijing opera, as well as modern theatre, and was also related to the Taiwanese *ge-tuann*,[165] Japanese *geisha*, who would often

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[162] *Tainan shinpō,* Sep. 22, 1924, p. 5.
[163] Ibid., Jul. 10, 1924, p. 5.
[164] Lin Mao-Hsien, *Gezaixi biaoyan,* p. 64; 67-70; 86; Cheng Rom-Shing, *Taiwan Kejia sanjiao caichaxi,* pp. 58-62; 65.
[165] *Ge-tuann* would also play *lam-kuan* music, but we cannot say that the emergence of female players was the influence of *lam-kuan*. It is true that in the Japanese colonial period, *lam-kuan* was a popular music, and there were many famous amateur *lam-kuan* clubs, but members of these amateur clubs were male. Therefore, *ge-tuann* was still influential, rather than *lam-kuan*. Besides, when *pak-kuan* or Beijing opera were popular, *ge-tuann* learnt to sing *pak-kuan* songs or Beijing opera as well.

attend theatrical activities. Players and teachers of *kua-a-hi* and *cai-ca-hi* were from *haipai* troupes and other forms of Taiwanese classical theatre, such as *lan-than*, *xi-pin* and *kau-kah*, rather than from *pun-te kua-a* and *sam-giog cai-ca*.[166] Moreover, some troupes were originally in other forms of Taiwanese classical theatre; some were capable of performing these other forms, so they probably originated from other types as well. There is no evidence to show that they changed from *pun-te kua-a* and *sam-giog cai-ca* groups. The following are some examples:[167]

Table 3-3 *Kua-a-hi* and *cai-ca-hi* troupes related to other genres of Taiwanese classical theatre

Troupes	Genres
Male and female troupe, Kiōng-lo̍k-hn̂g in Hsinchu (新竹共樂園男女班)	1918: *tshit-tsu-pan* 1926: *kua-a-hi*
Male and female troupe, Seu[31]mi[24]ien[11] in Dahu (大湖小美園男女班)	1922: *cai-ca-hi*, Beijing Opera and *kua-a-hi*
Tshing-lo̍k-hn̂g in Beitou (北投清樂園)	1922: *lam-kuan* After 1923: *kua-a-hi*
Xin[24]ngog[5]sa[24] in Miaoli (苗栗新樂社)	1925: *cai-ca-hi*, *lan-than*, *xi-pin* and *kua-a-hi*
Kui-jîn-hn̂g in Tainan (台南歸仁園)	1927: *kau-kah/lam-kuan* and *kua-a-hi*

These players, teachers and troupes from other forms brought performing arts, music, plays, etc., to *kua-a-hi* and *cai-ca-hi*. Certainly, there was not a kind of theatre without

[166] Su Hsiu-Ting, op.cit., pp. 93-94; 113-114.
[167] This table is based on "Rizhi shiqi neitai xiban kaobian."

a connection to the new Taiwanese reformed theatre.

The development of Taiwanese reformed theatre can be summarized as follows: In the first stage, 1909-1919, Takamatsu produced reformed theatre in Taiwan. The second stage, 1918, saw native troupes create their own reformed theatre. Ueyama's description may be believed, because according to existing sources from before 1918, whether newspapers or magazines, there was no indication that *pun-te kua-a*, *sam-giog cai-ca* or any other genre of Taiwanese classical theatre was ever called reformed theatre. Sources from the 1920s show that it was common to refer to *kua-a-hi* and *cai-ca-hi* as reformed theatre or "reformed troupe" (改良班).

It is almost accepted as fact that when *pun-te kua-a* and *sam-giog cai-ca* were developing, commercial theatres appeared and rose "just in time." Then *pun-te kua-a* and *sam-giog cai-ca* met this opportunity, learned from Bejing opera and other genres, and followed the trend to "enter" commercial theatres, and succeeded as a result. However, in recent years, some scholars have begun to question again the development process of *kua-a-hi*. Lin Ho-Yi doubted that *kua-a-hi* in commercial theatre derived directly from *pun-te kua-a*.[168] Shih Wan-Shun considers modern drama to have influenced *kua-a-hi* to become a mature form in commercial theatres.[169] Although they recognize a gap or distinct interval between *pun-te kua-a* and the *kua-a-hi* troupes that appeared in the commercial theatres during the mid-1920s, they have not shed any further light, and therefore they do not deny the assumption that "*pun-te kua-a* 'entered' commercial theatres, and became *kua-a-hi*,"

[168] In 2007, Lin Ho-Yi began to question the assumptions about the origin of *kua-a-hi*. When she interviewed older players who were active in the 1930s, most of those players denied that *kua-a-hi* originated from Yilan. Lin Ho-Yi, *Cong tianye chufa*, pp. 29-33.
[169] Shih, op.cit., pp. 78-82.

either. As Chapter One has already pointed out, over-emphasis on the genre of study has narrowed the views of researchers so that the origins of *kua-a-hi* and *cai-ca-hi* are often only traced back to *pun-te kua-a* and *sam-giog cai-ca*. This chapter for the first time traces these forms much further back to the "theatre reform" trend, and argues that *kua-a-hi* and *cai-ca-hi*, namely the native creation of Taiwanese reformed theatre, was very likely to have appeared in 1918, following Japanese versions of Taiwanese reformed theatre and its imitation by native people.

In addition to the connection with "time," the following description also suggests a connection between the new and the previous Taiwanese reformed theatre.

> *Kua-a-hi* is equal to *shimpa* in metropolitan Japan. The speech is in the island's languages and the theme is modern fact, therefore the masses can understand more easily.
> 歌仔戲相當於內地的新派，用語採本島語，且藝題亦以現代的事實爲主題，因此一般民眾較易理解。[170]

As this chapter has pointed out, *shimpa*, Kawakami and Takamatsu's works were all called "reformed theatre" in Taiwan, and both Kawakami and Takamatsu were related to *shimpa*. When *kua-a-hi* was made equal to *shimpa*, it was likely to suggest a relationship between *kua-a-hi* and the previous reformed theatre in Taiwan.

In addition to Japanese theatre reform, the creation of Taiwanese reformed theatre in Taiwan was influenced by theatre reform and modernization in Shanghai. Chinese theatre reform originated in Shanghai, and during the colonial period, Taiwanese

[170] *Taiwan geijutsu shinpō,* Oct. 1, 1936, p. 2.

agents imported mainly Shanghai troupes. It has again been assumed that *kua-a-hi* and *cai-ca-hi* obtained lots of elements from Beijing opera, but researchers have usually ignored that, strictly speaking, these elements are *haipai* characteristics. When *kua-a-hi* and *cai-ca-hi* troupes began to learn the arts of Beijing opera, what they learned were not plays with lots of arias and focusing particularly on singing skills, not lyrical plays, and not classical "single act play" (*zhezixi* 折子戲), all of which are usually considered to be the typical characteristics of "orthodox" Beijing opera. Instead, what they learned was: current event plays, serial plays, surprising plots, martial performances, theatre design and technology, the use of electricity, and machinery and lighting. What native troupes obtained was, in short, "modernity," as used by Shanghai troupes, not purely Beijing opera of the "real Beijing style."

Many *kua-a-hi* troupes were recorded performing Beijing opera, as the following table shows. *Cai-ca-hi* was similar.[171]

Table 3-4 *Kua-a-hi* troupes performing Beijing opera

Troupes	Genre
Kim-pó-hing in Tainan	Before 1907: *tshit-tsu-pan* 1919: increased Beijing opera 1932: started to perform *kua-a-hi*
Male and female troupe, Seu[31]mi[24]ien[11] in Dahu	1922: *cai-ca-hi*, *kua-a-hi* and Beijing opera
Hok-hing Siā in Chiayi (嘉義福興社)	1924: *kua-a-hi* and Beijing opera
Tan-kuì Siā in Tainan (臺南丹桂社)	1925: *kua-a-hi* and Beijing opera

[171] This table is based on "Rizhi shiqi neitai xiban kaobian."

Troupes of Lîm Ting-pho 林登波	1924: Tiông-hing Siā in Taoyuan (桃園重興社): Beijing opera 1927: Kang-hûn Siā (江雲社): *kua-a-hi*
Tsín-hing Siā in Changhua (彰化振興社)	1931: *kua-a-hi* and Beijing opera
Sin-bú Siā in Taipei (台北新舞社)	1931: *kua-a-hi* and Beijing opera
Lit-guát Hn̂g in Taichung (臺中日月園)	1932: *kua-a-hi* and Beijing opera
Tông-khìng-hûn in Taichung (臺中同慶雲)	Around 1934: Teachers were from Beijing opera troupe
Tik-sìng Siā in Keelung (基隆德勝社)	1935: *kua-a-hi* and Beijing opera
Great Pó-siù troupe of Beijing opera and *kua-a-hi* (寶秀大京歌劇團)	1936: *kua-a-hi* and probably Beijing opera

When a troupe performed both Beijing opera and *kua-a-hi*/*cai-ca-hi,* it would naturally use techniques from Beijing opera to develop *kua-a-hi*/*cai-ca-hi*. In fact, during the early post-war period, *kua-a-hi* and *cai-ca-hi* troupes still regularly performed Beijing opera as an opening programme. Later, *kua-a-hi* and *cai-ca-hi* troupes would discard completely the performance of Beijing opera.

Taiwanese reformed theatre would undoubtedly have the modern aesthetics of realism, since it was a modern product. In themes, it used social events. Many plays were Chinese "surprising cases,"[172] reflecting the strong influence of surprising cases of Chinese troupes. Connecting it with the previous description, we see the stages of formation: first, Chinese troupes brought a large number of surprising cases to Taiwan

[172] See appendix 3-7.

and these became very popular; second, local troupes learnt this kind of theme; third, when Taiwanese reformed theatre was developed, it also adopted Chinese "surprising cases". The second and the third stages are imitation stages by local theatre. After the imitation stages, native troupes would finally create Taiwanese surprising cases. These Taiwanese surprising cases are discussed in Chapter Five. This situation also shows that a "Taiwanese theme" was the last Taiwanese characteristic, appearing after linguistic, music and other artistic aspects.

In form, it shows *rensageki* as one of the performance types, revealing an intention to pursue complete realism. After Pó-lâi Thuân, in 1928, the *kua-a-hi* troupe, Kang-hûn Siā, produced *rensageki* as well. Kang-hûn Siā might have imitated Pó-lâi Thuân or directly learnt *rensageki* from Japanese troupes. It was a step further than previous types of Taiwanese classical theatre, because previous forms did not learn this style. According to Lü's record, the film shot for Kang-hûn company were the following eight clips:[173]

1) Title. Then the all of the cast pay tribute.

2) A kidnapper jumps from the roof into a room to kidnap a Surveillance Commissioner at sleep and take him into the mountains.

3) A young scholar is captured by bullies and taken to a cliff, where he is then pushed off into a deep valley. A celestial being rescues him.

4) A young scholar is captured by bandits and taken to a mountain stronghold. He is bound to a woodpile and will be burned. A celestial being appears and rescue him.

5) A chaste woman is bound in a woodpile to be burned. Guanyin appears at the last moment and saves her.

6) A chaste woman is kidnapped to a boat by pirates. She is forced to marry a pirate.

[173] Lü, op.cit., p. 284.

The woman inebriates and kills them. When she is committing suicide, Guanyin rides clouds to save her.

7) A young scholar dives into a river and is netted by a fisherman coincidentally.

8) A chaste woman is rescued by Guanyin when diving into a river.

Actually, these kinds of plots were often seen in traditional plays. Therefore, they were still able to be performed using traditional symbolism. The Kang-hûn company obviously intended to pursue realism and to give up the symbolist tradition, corresponding to its aim, which was to perform social actualities.

Because *kua-a-hi* and *cai-ca-hi* obtained many elements from other forms of Taiwanese classical theatre and Beijing opera, compared with Takamatsu's version of Taiwanese reformed theatre, the Taiwanese version preserved more characteristics of classical theatre. However, people had no doubts when this name was used by *kua-a-hi* and *cai-ca-hi* troupes. They were called "reformed theatre" by the players, audiences, Taiwanese and Japanese observers. Perhaps the reason was that they also performed modern plays, as the cited report indicates: "the theme is modern fact." On the basis of this point, we can say that, although "reformed theatre" or "theatre reform" referred to modern theatre, the concept was still not the same as the later New Theatre Movement (*shingeki undō* 新劇運動) in Japan and Taiwan, which intended to completely abandon the singing and dancing forms and finally develop today's concept of "modern theatre". Although *kua-a-hi* and *cai-ca-hi* could be called classical theatre, or more accurately, 20th century classical theatre, they should not be viewed as "traditional" theatre. Instead, they should be seen as initial forms of modern theatre, just as with Japanese *shimpa* or Chinese *wenmingxi*. They were also a transition between Taiwanese classical theatre and the Taiwanese New Theatre

Movement.

3. Another name for Taiwanese reformed theatre—Taiwanese opera

After Taiwanese reformed theatre came into being, before long, it had gained another name, *kageki*/opera. When Ueyama described the birth of Taiwanese reformed theatre, he also mentioned another term, *kageki*. He described it as: "[…] 'reformed theatre,' which was transformed from the *kageki* mentioned above." The "*kageki* mentioned above" referred to the paragraph above in his article, "Theatrical genres" (劇の種類). In this paragraph, he introduced: "*kageki* (mainly love affairs, played by a small number of people)" (歌劇（主として艶情の類を小人數にて演ず）). This description looks like the characteristics of *sam-giog cai-ca* and *pun-te kua-a*. However, these two kinds of theatre were never called this way in other sources. What Ueyama refers to might instead be *kua-hì* 歌戲, which was sometimes used by native writers to refer to *pun-te kua-a* in earlier reports. Perhaps for Japanese like Ueyama, "戲" (pronounced *gi* in Japanese) was not a common *kanji,* therefore he directly replaced it with "劇" (*geki*).

Although Ueyama's description is unclear, according to existing sources, by 1923, Taiwanese reformed theatre was already called opera/*kageki*.[174] It was undoubtedly influenced by the opera/*kageki* imported by the Japanese. From then on, "opera/*kageki dan;*" *kua-kio̍k thuân* 歌劇團 (opera troupe) was broadly used by *kua-a-hi* and *cai-ca-hi* troupes as their formal name, and was called that by people as well. This phenomenon continues up until the present day. Until now, researchers have simply viewed "歌劇" as another name for *kua-a-hi* or *cai-ca-hi*, but did not think about the reason. They were not aware of its origins, and they did not know that "歌劇" was in

[174] *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō,* Nov. 29, 1923, p. 4.

fact a Japanese term. Researchers of *cai-ca-hi* simply thought that *cai-ca-hi* troupes imitated *kua-a-hi* troupes in the use of this name. They usually consider the use of this name to be an error. Some have even claimed that *cai-ca-hi* troupes have to do so without choice for commercial profit.[175] It naturally resulted from their study approach and viewpoint, as Chapter One indicates. Because researchers only placed both *kua-a-hi* and *cai-ca-hi* within the framework of Chinese traditional theatre, they were unable to see the Japanese factors.

It further affected the study of opera*/opela* (胡撇仔) in *kua-a-hi* or *cai-ca-hi*, as Chapter One has also pointed out. Up until now, scholars considered that opera*/opela* オペラ is a specific type in *kua-a-hi* and *cai-ca-hi*, which exhibits Japanese and modern characteristics, and that this type was created as part of the *kominka* campaign during the Second Sino-Japanese War.[176] However, they did not realize that "オペラ" and "歌劇" are in fact different ways of writing the same word in Japanese. Moreover, by the late 1800s, the word and both *katakana* and *kanji* writing systems had already been introduced to Taiwan. In existing sources, the earliest record of "オペラ" is in the *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, 31 May 1906, while the earliest record of "歌劇" is in the same newspaper, on 25 March, 1908.

When *kua-a-hi* and *cai-ca-hi* troupes called themselves "*kageki*/opera *dan*," it reflected the Japanese style of modernization. Furthermore, it was not merely a change of name; in quality, Taiwanese opera was similar to Japanese opera in many ways. Phonograph recording show that western instruments were adopted as accompaniment. The most important theme of Taiwanese opera was romantic love.

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[175] Hsu chin-yao and Hsieh I-Ru, *Kejia caicha daxi,* p. 190; Huang Xinying, op.cit., p. 60.
[176] Huang Xinying, op.cit., p. 41; Hsieh Hsiao-Mei; "Hupiezai" pp. 165-166; Chen Yu-Hsing, *Taiwan gezaixi de yixiang shijie,* pp. 48-51.

The make-up of players in Taiwanese opera was not like traditional theatre, but was closer to modern theatre. The vocalism abandoned falsetto. Most players of Taiwanese opera troupes were young girls. It is plausible that native troupes imitated the organization of all-young-female-players from Japanese girls' opera troupes. Previous researchers considered it to be an influence from Beijing opera or *ge-tuann*,[177] but there were still many male players in Beijing opera troupes, and *ge-tuann* were invited to attend theatrical activities individually. An all-female Beijing opera troupe or *ge-tuann* troupe was not a common case. Moreover, the most important role in a Taiwanese opera troupe was the player who played the male lead, usually a young man in the story. The "male lead" or "male roles" in Taiwanese opera always drew much more attention than the female roles because it displayed an interest in gender transposition. The actress who played the male lead often attracted many female fans. While researchers usually considered *kua-a-hi* or *cai-ca-hi* as mainly imitating Beijing opera,[178] the above major characteristics were different from Beijing opera, but were in fact closer to Japanese young female opera. Even nowadays, we can still find these similarities between *kua-a-hi* troupes and Japanese *kageki*/opera troupes, such as the well-known Takarazuka Company.

Since *kua-a-hi* and *cai-ca-hi* troupes had already adopted opera as their name by the early 1920s and exhibited modern Japanese characteristics from the beginning, the birth time of Taiwanese opera*/opela* should not be the late 1930s, when the *kominka* campaign was launched. Further, opera*/opela* may not only refer to a type of *kua-a-hi* and *cai-ca-hi*, but to the whole *kua-a-hi* and *cai-ca-hi*.

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[177] Hsu, *Rizhi shiqi Zhongguo xiban,* pp. 30-34; Qiu Xuling, *Taiwan yida*, p. 98; 105; 117; Chiu Kun-Liang, *Jiuju yu xinju*, p. 206.
[178] Huang Xinying, op.cit., pp. 34-35; Lin Mao-Hsien, op.cit., pp. 128-130; Hsu, *Rizhi shiqi Zhongguo xiban,* pp. 226-232.

The name opera or *kageki* might be more applicable to *kua-a-hi* and *cai-ca-hi*. After all, both still preserved singing and dancing parts, and music was still a leading role in performance, while some works of reformed theatre would shorten or remove these parts in order to be pure speaking theatre. Therefore, when the name opera/*kageki* was adopted by native troupes, during the 1920s, it gradually became more common than reformed theatre. After the war, when *kua-a-hi* troupes did not use reformed theatre any longer, opera/*kageki* was still the common name for both *kua-a-hi* and *cai-ca-hi* troupes, and continues to be so.

Combining the time of the main records of reformed theatre and opera/*kageki* in Taiwan, the process of 'nativization' can be summarized:

1897: *Sōshi shibai* was introduced to Taiwan.
1909-1919: Takamatsu established and led the reformed troupe in Taiwan.
1917: The first Japanese opera troupe comes to Taiwan.
1918: Taiwanese reformed theatre was born.
1920-1921: Japanese residents in Taiwan form the Takasago young girls' opera troupe.
1923: Troupes of Taiwanese reformed theatre have already adopted the name opera.

In the first stage, new types of theatre, reformed theatre and opera*/kageki,* were introduced directly from Japan. The second stage is that the colonizers' group in Taiwan would invent their own version of "Taiwanese" reformed theatre and opera, "Taiwan" *segeki* and "Takasago" opera. Finally, these new theatrical concepts and types were all received by the Taiwanese themselves, and they would invent their own version of Taiwanese reformed theatre and Taiwanese opera, which exhibit both

modern-Japanese and Taiwanese characteristics.

Taiwanese opera was the product of the early modern era, and based on the initial modernization of previous types of Taiwanese classical theatre. *Kua-a-hi* and *cai-ca-hi* happened to coincide with the emergence of commercial theatres, newspapers and phonographic recording and therefore had opportunities to become fashionable and to be recorded. The modern era gave rise to these media, as well as to Taiwanese opera. Commercial theatre, newspapers, phonograph records and Taiwanese opera therefore were all products of the modern era. Since they were all products of modernization, it is certainly not a "coincidence" that they would be joined to each other.

Different from previous types of Taiwanese classical theatre, Taiwanese opera was born in an era when theatre in Taiwan could be a purely commercial product, without any relation to religious and folk festivals. The development process of other kinds of Taiwanese classical theatre was firstly as an offering on religious occasions before entering commercial theatre in the 20th century, turning into commercial products. In terms of Taiwanese opera, it was created as a product to be sold in commercial theatres. Therefore it naturally appeared in commercial theatres from the beginning.

However, scholars usually consider *kua-a-hi* and *cai-ca-hi* to have naturally followed the same process of development as the older forms in Taiwan,[179] ignoring the fact that the two groups emerged in Taiwan during very different periods and under very different circumstances. It is a general assumption that *pun-te kua-a* and *sam-giog*

[179] Hsu chin-yao and Hsieh I-Ru, op.cit., pp. 174-177; Huang Xinying, op.cit., pp. 25-28; 34-37; Cheng Rom-Shing, op.cit., pp. 5-6; 62-63; Yang Fu-Ling, op.cit., p. 25; 46; 61; 65-66.

cai-ca became mature *kua-a-hi* and *cai-ca-hi*, and were played in free outdoor theaters at first, as with other traditional theatre forms in Taiwan. Then in the mid-1920s, *kua-a-hi* and *cai-ca-hi* troupes entered into commercial theatres. However, there is actually no evidence to support this view. As Hsu Ya-Hsiang has indicated, before *kua-a-hi* appeared in commercial indoor theatres, there were no professional *kua-a-hi* troupes playing on outdoor stages.[180] So-called "professional *kua-a-hi*" in his article means non-*pun-te kua-a*, which was an amateur activity up to now. The situation of *cai-ca-hi* is similar. There is no evidence to show that *cai-ca-hi* was played outdoors in the first place.

Hsu Ya-Hsiang, Lin Ho-Yi and Shih Wan-Shun all recognize that there is a gap or distinct interval between the *pun-te kua-a* and *kua-a-hi* troupes that appeared in the commercial theatres during the mid-1920s. However, they did not clarify this further; therefore, they did not separate *kua-a-hi* from *pun-te kua-a*. In fact, this gap suggests they were different kinds of theatre.

In contrast to previous forms of Taiwanese classical theatre, Taiwanese opera troupes performed in commercial theatres at first, and then were hired to perform in festivals after this kind of theatre became popular in commercial theatres. It rather "exited" commercial theatres to go to outdoor and free theatres, rather than "entered" commercial theatres from outdoors.

When Taiwanese opera appeared, the development of the commercial theatre system in Taiwan was completed. The process may be classified into three stages.

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[180] Hsu, *Rizhi shiqi Taiwan xiqu*, pp. 42-45.

The first stage, 1896 to 1907: the stage of introduction and exemplification.
The commercial theatre system was introduced by the Japanese. Japanese and Chinese troupes of traditional or modern performing arts exemplified the new commercial system.

The second stage, 1908 to the mid-1920s: the stage of experiment and development. Native troupes began to imitate this new system and gradually found success.

The final stage, the mid-1920s to 1937: the developed stage of Taiwanese opera. It became dominant and took the place of Beijing opera troupes. Accompanying this was the building of theatres in smaller cities or towns.

Taiwanese opera troupes did not use advertising as a tool as thoroughly as the previous Japanese, Chinese and other Taiwanese troupes. Most would only advertise their names, the beginning date of a schedule and the theatre at which they would be performing. Play details were usually lacking. This was probably to avoid public criticism, since their plays were easily regarded as "lewd plays" (*îm-tshut* 淫出). Some troupes would only emphasize that their plays were about "loyalty, filial piety, incorruptibility and chastity (忠孝廉節).

In terms of "comment" in newspapers, the most noticeable was criticism from the native intelligentsia. The most famous cases were *Taiwan minhō* and its new edition, *Taiwan shinminhō,* which had a clear-cut policy to reject Taiwanese opera from the beginning.[181] In fact, *kua-a-hi* and *cai-ca-hi* troupes were also aware of the negative public opinion in newspapers. Therefore, when they advertised, they usually marked

[181] Chiu Kun-Liang, *Jiuju yu xinju*, p. 209.

their forms as *peh-li-hi* or reformed theatre, otherwise they would only mention the name of troupe, without indicating the form.[182]

The relationship between Taiwanese opera and newspapers was subtle. Speakers usually paid more attention to attacking or advocating the banning of theatre.[183] However, except of *Taiwan minhō* and *Taiwan shinminhō*, other newspapers did not hold a consistent stand. They allowed troupes to advertise, and sometimes would report news of troupes fairly. Even *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, a newspaper with an official line, was not as strict as *Taiwan minhō* and *Taiwan shinminhō.*

Although newspapers became a new tool for the native intelligentsia to criticize Taiwanese opera, on the other hand, Taiwanese opera also took advantage of this new tool for advertising, not only adopting a passive role to be attacked in newspapers, as speakers usually described.

Taiwanese opera was hardly seen in broadcast programme schedules. There is only one possible record in *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* from 4th July, 1930.[184] By contrast, the production and issue of phonograph records reveal an opposite phenomenon. The following table shows the statistics for Columbia recordings:

Table 3-5 Statistics for *kua-a-hi* and *cai-ca-hi* records of Columbia Company

Genre	Label on records	Number	Total

[182] See appendix 4-1. This will be further discussed in Chapter Four.
[183] Chiu Kun-Liang, *Jiuju yu xinju*, pp. 187; 208-209; Hsu, *Rizhi shiqi Taiwan xiqu*, p. 19; Shih, op.cit., p. 90.
[184] *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō,* Jul. 04, 1930, p. 4. In the programmes broadcast on this day, there was a play, *Pe̍h-hóo Tn̂g* 白虎堂 (White Tiger Hall), which would have been performed by *tshit-tsu-pan*, Beijing opera or *kua-a-hi* troupes. The report only notes "Chinese music" (中國音樂), therefore it is difficult to distinguish the specific form.

		of item	
kua-a-hi	arias of *kua-ákua-a-hi* (歌仔曲)	78	391
	kua-a-hi (歌仔戲)	155	
	kua-khik-hì (歌曲戲)	140	
	new kind of *kua-hìkua-a-hi* (新款歌戲)	2	
	arias of *kua-hì* (歌戲曲)	7	
	cultural *kua-kio̍k/kageki* (文化歌劇)	9	
cai-ca-hi	reformed *cai-ca* (改良採茶)	20	54
	cai-ca-hi (採茶戲)	23	
	cai-ca of new arias (新調採茶)	2	
	new *cai-ca* (新採茶)	2	
	new kind of *cai-ca-hi* (新款採茶戲)	4	
	Guangdong *kageki* (廣東歌劇)	3	

In the phonographic recording industry, *kua-a-hi* was the main body, just as the situation with commercial theatres after the mid-1920s.[185] Following Columbia, the Taiwanese also tried to form companies. These native companies usually produced *kua-a-hi* records, instead of *lam-kuan*, which was often broadcast.[186] This reflected differences between phonograph recordings, newspapers and broadcasting, although all were new media appearing in the early 20th century. Newspapers and broadcasting

[185] Fujian immigrant communities in Southeast Asia were possible markets for Columbia. It was well known that in the 1930s, *kua-a-hi* spread to Fujian and became popular. If Columbia developed market in Fujian, perhaps the spread and popularity of *kua-a-hi* in this area was also influenced by record sales. However, at present, this topic has lacked studies. It remains a potential topic for future research.

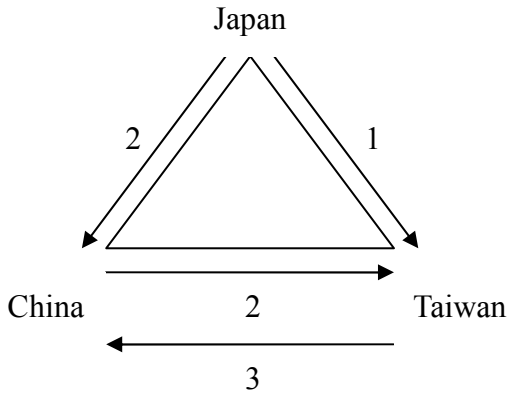
[186] Xu Li-Sha and Lin Liang-Che, op.cit., pp. 86-89; 417-423.

were sometimes vessels for the will of the government or of the intelligentsia. *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* was partly supported by the Government-General and broadcasting was also operated by the Government-General; *Taiwan minhō* or *Taiwan shinminhō* were institutional newspapers of the Taiwan Culture Association and Taiwan People's Party. The theatrical reports, articles and programmes were through conscious choice. They exhibited what was considered to be "suitable" for the public. In other words, they were not purely for entertainment. By contrast, before the outbreak of war, the phonograph industries were definitely an entertainment industry, the purpose of which was to gain profit. It was the same with the operation of commercial theatres. Therefore, the loaning situation of theatres and the issuing of phonograph recordings reflected the fashion in theatrical field more accurately.

Conclusion

To conclude, Westernization and modernization first brought about theatrical modernization in Japan, and China was affected through Japan. In Taiwan, theatrical modernization was by two ways. The first was direct Japanese influence on Taiwan. The second was Japanese influence indirectly through China, as the triangle below illustrates. Additionally, Taiwan also had an influence on China. The examples were Ren Tianzhi's activities and the spread of *kua-a-hi* to China.

Figure 3-1 Interaction between Japanese, Taiwanese and Chinese theatre



The effect in the socio-cultural context was the emergence of commercial theatres, newspapers, broadcasting and phonograph recordings, etc. The effect in theatrical aesthetics was the emergence of realism. The aesthetics of realism was reflected in the adoption of realism in theatre design and the themes of modern social actualities. In Taiwan, the aesthetics of realism further caused audiences and performers to ask for "Taiwanese realism." Taiwanese realism exhibited the reality in Taiwan, both in languages and themes. This in turn led to the birth of Taiwanese reformed theatre/Taiwanese opera. It suggested that "Taiwanese classical theatre" was now completely realized. Therefore, we are able to say that Taiwaneseness in classical theatre was born in the modernization and accompanying aesthetics of realism. It is hard to see how Taiwaneseness in classical theatre would have been established if Taiwan remained a borderland of the Chinese Empire, because "Taiwaneseness" was a product of modernization, which was directly brought about by Japanese colonization.

Chapter Four

Linguistic Taiwanization and the Formation of Taiwanese Classical Theatre

From the previous chapters, we have seen that the construction of the concept of "Taiwanese classical theatre," the theatrical modernization in Taiwan and the birth of Taiwanese reformed theatre/Taiwanese opera, all of which contributed to the formation of Taiwanese classical theatre. Additionally, the nativization or Taiwanization of the theatrical language was also a significant contributory factor, which is the focus in this chapter.

I. The language of classical theatre in Taiwan before the Japanese colonial time

Theatre was first brought to Taiwan by Chinese immigrants and was in Taiwan by the late 17th century. There are no records of theatrical activities among the aboriginal people before the arrival of the Chinese. The earliest possible record of theatre in Taiwan is "Ping Taiwan xu" written by Shen Guangwen between 1683 and 1688. In this article, there is a sentence: "Actors play music all night long" (俳優調長夜之曲).[1] "*Paiyou*" 俳優 often means actors in Chinese texts, and the music probably refers to accompaniment to performances. Based on literature research and fieldwork so far, before the Japanese colonial period, classical theatre in Taiwan may be classified into three groups.[2]

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[1] This source is collected in *Taiwan wenxian congkan.*

[2] For a complete introduction to theatrical genres in Taiwan before the Japanese colonial period, please refer to Chang Chi-Feng, "Qingdai Taiwan xiqu," pp. 197-227.

First, classical theatre that originated from southern Fujian:

1. *xia'nan qiang* 下南腔 (southern music/dialect); *tshit-tsu-pan*; *quanqiang* 泉腔 (Quanzhou music/dialect); *xiao liyuan* 小梨園 (little pear garden). The four different names are believed to refer to the same kind of genre.
2. *tshia-koo*; *huagu* 花鼓 (flower drum)
3. *ka-lé* 傀儡 (puppet). This refers to string puppetry.
4. *tsióng-tiong pan* 掌中班 (in-hand troupe). This refers to glove puppets.

According to their musical styles or the historical records in southern Fujian, these genres were especially related to Quanzhou. Therefore, during Qing rule, they were possibly performed in the Quanzhou dialect of southern *Hokkien*.

Second, classical theatre that originated probably from eastern Guangdong:

1. *yueling* 粵伶 (Guangdong player)
2. *chaoban* 潮班 (Chaozhou troupe); *tiô-tiāu* 潮調 (Chaozhou music)
3. *phê-kâu* 皮猴 (skin monkey); *yingxi* 影戲 (shadow theatre)
4. glove puppetry of *tio-tiau*
5. *cai-ca-hi* 採茶 (tea-picking); *cai-ca-cong* 採茶唱 (singing "tea-picking")

This group is more dubious. The term "Guangdong players" only appears once during the 18th century and the details are lacking. In addition to the glove puppetry accompanied by Quanzhou music (*lam-kuan*), there was another kind of glove puppetry that was accompanied by Chaozhou music. Shadow theatre troupes also used Chaozhou musical styles. But although they used Chaozhou music, it is unclear whether these troupes used the Chaozhou dialect during the Qing rule. In fact, it is also unclear whether there were Chaozhou dialect immigrant communities in Taiwan before the colonial period. Therefore, it is unclear who introduced theatre with

Chaozhou music. There is also a possibility that these kinds of theatre were introduced by Zhangzhou immigrants, because Zhangzhou and Chaozhou are neighboring regions.

Cai-ca-hi particularly flourished among the *Hakka*, whose ancestors came from eastern Guangdong. The language is clearly *Hakka*. It is also possible that during Qing rule, *cai-ca-hi* did not turn into a theatrical form (namely *sam-giog cai-ca*), but was only a performance using song and dance.

The above two groups are obviously related to the history of immigration to Taiwan, while the third group below is not:

1. *kuann-im*; *lan-than*
2. *hok-loo*
3. *se-phi*
4. *xi-pin*
5. *kunqu* 崑曲; *kunqiang* 崑腔 (Kun opera)
6. *jingqu* 京曲 (Beijing opera)

The genres of this group all came to Taiwan in the 19th century and all belong to the system of Chinese official language, *guanhua,* namely Mandarin. *Kuann-im* is believed to refer to *hok-loo* and *se-phi*. *Lan-than* also referred to *hok-loo* and *se-phi.* *Kunqu* and Beijing opera seem not to have had troupes in Taiwan before the Japanese colonial period, while records of *kunqu* in Taiwan only appear in the 18th century. Troupes of the two kinds were brought in by Qing officials when they were sent to Taiwan.

Mandarin theatre was introduced to Taiwan in the 19th and became increasingly

popular in the latter half. Sources show that it shared half of the classical theatre market. The rise of tsú-tē-hì 子弟戲, amateur performances, show this as well as many amateur clubs appeared.

II. Linguistic Taiwanization in the colonial period and the formation of Taiwanese reformed theatre/Taiwanese opera

During the Japanese colonial period, the language of classical theatre was Taiwanized. It was brought about by the formation of *Tai-gi/Taiwan-gi/Taiwango* in the same period. It is necessary to introduce this phenomenon before talking about theatre.

l. The formation of *Tai-gi/Taiwan-gi/Taiwango* in the Japanese colonial period

Chinese immigrants from southern Fujian (Minnan 閩南) shared the largest portion of the population in Taiwan. Their language, southern *Hokkien* (*Minnanhua* 閩南話) has three fundamental dialects, Quanzhou, Zhangzhou and Xiamen (Amoy).[3] By the Japanese colonial period, these dialects developed derivatives in Taiwan. In this period, linguists often described that Taiwanese southern *Hokkien* was "non-Zhangzhou, non-Quanzhou." This description indicated the change. Recently found phonograph recordings strongly prove it. As Wu Shou-li pointed out, the Zhangzhou and Quanzhou vowel systems were integrated, and the Zhangzhou tone system was increasingly stronger, assimilating the Quanzhou system.[4] According to Henning Klöter, Taiwanese southern *Hokkien* could be reclassified into *haikou* 海口

[3] Wu Shou-li, op.cit., p. 5.
[4] Ibid., p. 254.

(seaport), *pianhai* 偏海 (costal), *neipu* 內埔 (inner plain), *piannei* 偏內 (interior) and *tongxing* 通行 (common).[5]

In addition to qualitative change, conceptual change also occurred. In the Japanese colonial period, southern *Hokkien* in Taiwan began to be called *Tâi-gí* 臺語, *Taiwan-gí* 臺灣語 by local people or *Taiwango* 臺灣語 in Japanese. All these mean "Taiwanese language." Before the Japanese colonial period, this term was hardly found in textual sources. In existing Chinese sources, there is only one case. The term *Tai-gi* appeared once in Liu Jiamou's 劉家謀 (1814-1853) *Haiyin shi* 海音詩 (The Poetry of Sea Sounds).[6] Local gazetteers usually described the Chinese language in Taiwan were no different to the language of southern Fujian 福建 and of eastern Guangdong 廣東. In Western language sources, usually dictionaries of local language, books on Christian doctrine and church newspapers that were published in local language,[7] southern *Hokkien* in Taiwan was called Amoy.[8]

By contrast, before they began to colonize Taiwan, the Japanese had created the new term "*Taiwango.*" The first dictionary of the local language edited by the Japanese was entitled "*Taiwango shū*" 臺灣語集 (A Collection of Taiwanese Language) by Matano Yasukazu 俣野保和 (?-?). Matano was an interpreter and an officer in the Japanese army. He edited this dictionary when his unit occupied Penghu in 1895. This book recorded southern *Hokkien* spoken in Penghu.[9] At that time, the Japanese army had not yet occupied the whole territory of the former Taiwan Province of the Qing

[5] Klöter, op.cit., p. 4.
[6] This poetry anthology is now collected in *Taiwan wenxian congkan. Tai-gi* appears in the note to the poem "A hundred people's grain, breakfast and supper were wasted." (耗擲饗飧百口糧).
[7] Klöter, op.cit., p. 89; Wu Shou-li, op.cit., pp, 65-82; 398-410.
[8] Wu Shou-li, op.cit., p. 66; 402; 406.
[9] Ibid., p. 83.

Empire. Throughout the Japanese colonial period, the majority of linguistic surveys and studies focused on southern *Hokkien* in Taiwan; most of the linguistic works entitled "Taiwanese" were for southern *Hokkien*. This was undoubtedly because the native speakers of this language made up the largest portion of the population. As a result, *Taiwango* became the name for the Taiwanized southern *Hokkien*. Obviously, this was a modern definition, and was created by the colonizer. Crucially, it influenced local people. In Chinese language newspapers, the term *Tai-gi* or *Taiwan-gi* became very common.[10] This further contributed to the rise of the concept of "*Tai-gi/Taiwan-gi* classical theatre." In the following sections, I will use these three terms according to the cited sources. That is, I will use *Taiwango* for Japanese sources and the other two for Chinese sources. When there is no specific cited source for discourse, I will use the shortest *Tai-gi.*

2. Linguistic Taiwanization in the classical theatre and the formation of Taiwanese reformed theatre/Taiwanese opera

Researchers usually indicated that *kua-a-hi* became the most popular among Taiwanese classical theatre because it used *Tai-gi*.[11] However, they have failed to notice that before *kua-a-hi*, theatre in Taiwan had started a process of linguistic Taiwanization. This process took place throughout the Japanese colonial period. Therefore *kua-a-hi* did not suddenly start using *Tai-gi*. Similarly, the other kind of Taiwanese reformed theatre/Taiwanese opera, *cai-ca-hi* did not suddenly use *Hakka*. It is unclear whether there was *Hakka* theatre during Qing rule, but in the colonial period, it is true that *Hakka* was adopted for performing theatre. This is also linguistic Taiwanization in the classical theatre. Therefore *Hakka* theatre will also be included in

[10] Examples will be provided in the following sections.
[11] Yang Fu-Ling, op.cit., p. 71; Lin Ho-Yi, "Gezaixi," p. 91; Hsu, *Rizhi shiqi Taiwan xiqu,* p.51.

the following discussion.

Existing sources show that the three groups of the classical theatre appearing in Qing rule underwent linguistic Taiwanization during the Japanese colonial period. In the first group, *tshit-tsu-pan* was reported as using *Tai-gi*: "*Tshit-tsu-pan* troupe, Sù-tshun-hn̂g, is now performing in Lotus Pond Street, Mengjia. […] Spoken lines are all in *Tai-gi*." (艋舺蓮花池街開演四春園七齣仔[…]口白則純用臺語)[12] *Tshia-koo* was always put on a par with *pun-te kua-a* and *sam-giog cai-ca* by audiences during the colonial period. This likely used the vernacular common in Taiwan, as with the other two genres. In 1943, Takeuchi Osamu 竹内治 (fl. 1940-1941 in Taiwan) in "Taiwan engeki shi" 臺灣演劇誌 (Taiwanese Theatrical History) described it as being played in *Taiwango.*[13] String puppetry developed *Hakka* troupes, according to Chiang Wu-chang 江武昌.[14]

In the second group, *yueling* no longer existed. During the colonial period, there were no Chaozhou dialect communities among Taiwanese societies. The only language related to Guangdong was *Hakka*. *Cai-ca-hi* turned into theatrical form, namely *sam-giog cai-ca.* As for shadow theatre, in 1943, *Taiwan engeki shi* by Takeuchi Osamu indicates that shadow theatre was played in the Chaozhou dialect.[15] However, in the same year, a musicologist, Kurosawa Takatomo 黒沢隆朝 (1895-1987) recorded a part of a play.[16] On this record, players used Taiwanized southern *Hokkien*. Since Takeuchi did not explain this at all, we do not know what Takeuchi indicated was really the situation at that time. Nevertheless Kurosawa's record proves that

[12] *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, Jun. 25, 1913, p. 6.
[13] Hamada Hidesaburō, *Taiwan engeki,* p. 68. The article is a major part of this edited volume.
[14] Chiang Wu-chang, *Xuansi qiandong*, pp. 17; 40; 86-87.
[15] Hamada, op.cit., p. 39.
[16] Wang Ying-fen and Liou Lin-yu, *Zhanshi Taiwan* (CD).

linguistic Taiwanization had also happened in shadow theatre.

The language of glove puppet was Taiwanized, as this description shows: "Glove puppet theatre is purely played in *Taiwan-gi*" (布袋戲純用臺灣語),[17] whether the origin was Quanzhou or Chaozhou.

In the third group, *kunqu* was no longer performed in Taiwan by the colonial period. The popularity of *lan-than* reached a peak in this era. The number of amateur clubs continued to grow. Their performances were very striking. *Tsu-te-hi* almost became a byword for *lan-than*. Under this influence, glove puppetry also developed a *lan-than* branch, which used *lan-than* music and Mandarin.

From the sources of Qing rule, it is clear that by the mid-19th century, the Quanzhou group, especially *tshit-tsu-pan*, was the representative theatre in Taiwan. In the latter half of the 19th century, *lan-than* theatre, however, gradually replaced *tshit-tsu-pan*. Before Taiwanese opera was developed in the late 1910s, the *lan-than* style was considered to be the representative theatrical form in Taiwan. *Tshit-tsu-pan* was now viewed as "a special kind." As Kua Ting-thiú tells us, for audiences, it was a minority taste: "*Peh-li* largely performs things that are related to children; therefore, it has a tendency to have a relatively popular appeal. For this reason, when performers grow up or become more mature, their performances lose *peh-li*'s unique appeal." (白字は、多く兒童に關したものを演ずるから、比較的通俗的で趣味がある。從つて役者が大きくなつて來ると、白字特有の趣味がなくなる。)[18] Before the Japanese colonial period, this type of classical theatre was not considered particularly special.

[17] *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, Aug. 12, 1930, p. 4.
[18] Kua Ting-thiú, op.cit., p. 60. "*Peh-li-hi*" was once another name for *tshit-tsu-pan.* This will be explained in this chapter.

However, in descriptions of the Japanese colonial period, we find that the writers pay more attention to players and their training. *Tshit-tsu-pan* was then defined as "children's theatre." In terms of other genres, such as *tshia-koo, sam-giog cai-ca* and *pun-te kua-a*, they were rarely played on stage, but mostly at ground level. This was incomparable to *lan-than*. In Fūzan Dō's "Haiyū to engeki," he said: "*Cai-ca-hi* should not be viewed as theatre because it does not need many stage properties, stage costumes and players." (採茶戲は、演劇と看做すべきものに非ず、器具も衣裳も人も多きを要せざる).[19] Fūzan Dō did not regard *sam-giog cai-ca* as either a mature or real theatre.

Therefore, during the colonial period, when people referred to "old theatre" (*kyo geki* ; *kū-kio̍k* 舊劇) or "pre-existing theatre" (*zairai engeki* 在來演劇), they usually referred to *lan-than.* As a result, whether Japanese or Taiwanese writers, they usually claimed that local Taiwanese did not understand the speech on stage and that they could only guess at the meaning from the actions of players. Further, audiences were not concerned at this incomprehension. These Japanese and local writers almost shaped a mechanical impression that "Taiwanese classical theatre was not played in *Tai-gi*," and that "Taiwanese audiences did not understand Taiwanese classical theatre." Until the inception of Taiwanese reformed theatre/Taiwanese opera, these kind of comments had already become commonplace.

Nevertheless, as with the other genres, *se-phi*, *hok-loo* and *xi-pin* were affected by language in Taiwan. Researchers during the Japanese colonial period have often pointed out that the language was an "erroneous Beijing language." To describe it as "erroneous" meant that the local vernacular was mixed into the Beijing language.

[19] Fūzan Dō, op.cit., p. 25.

Therefore it in fact reflected a linguistic Taiwanization.[20] Lian Heng further indicated in his *Taiwan tongshi* 臺灣通史 (Taiwanese General History) of 1918 that the *xi-pin* language was mixed with lots of "Guangdong sounds."[21] "Guangdong sounds" undoubtedly refers to *Hakka*, since *Hakka* in the Japanese colonial period was usually referred to as a Guangdong language.

The glove puppetry of *lan-than* gradually changed to use *Tai-gi* as well. In 1936-1937, Tōhō Takayoshi described in "*Taiwan shūzoku*—Taiwan no engeki" that glove puppetry had previously been played with a Taiwanized Beijing language, but at the time when he wrote the article, the local Taiwanese vernacular was more often adopted: "Previously, speaking or singing was always in a Taiwanized Beijing language. In recent years, Taiwanese common language has become increasingly used" (白や唱は以前は總て臺灣化した北京語を用ひたが、近年臺灣通俗語を用ふるものが多くなり)[22]

Kau-kah, which is first recorded in *An-ping-kuan tsap-ki* (1894-1895), is the most confusing of all the kinds of classical theatre in Taiwan. Before 1927, it was usually misunderstood as being played in Mandarin, as with *lan-than* and *xi-pin*, or to be a mix of Mandarin and a local dialect. This was perhaps because some *kau-kah* troupes also played Beijing opera and its fighting and war plays originated from Mandarin theatre. In 1927, *Taiwan ni okeru Shina engeki kyū Taiwan engekichō* clarified that *kau-kah* used the Quanzhou dialect.[23] Nevertheless, phonograph recordings suggest that by the 1930s, language of *kau-kah* was also Taiwanized. In the Columbia

[20] Yen Lip-mo, "Xiqu zhengyin," pp. 21-24; 35-38.
[21] In the chapter titled "fengsuzhi・yanju" 風俗志・演劇 (Theatre, Customs). The book is now collected in *Taiwan wenxian congkan*.
[22] Tōhō, "Taiwan no engeki [4]," p. 32.
[23] Tân Tsuân-íng, *Taiwan engekichō*, p. 17.

recordings, there are four series of *kau-kah* records, namely, *Hua-khue siū-bú* 花魁受侮 (A Famous Courtesan was Insulted), *Hua-khue tsiông-liông kui iû-lông* 花魁從良歸油郎 (The Famous Courtesan Married an Oil Seller), *It-hiàn hîng-tôo tik siang-bí* 一獻形圖得雙美 (Acquiring Two Beauties for Presenting a Picture), and *Lī-bí kiù-hu* 二美救夫 (Two Beauties Save Their Husband). The records were labeled "*peh-li-hi*," which was another name for *kau-kah*. The title of the accompanying band was clearer, the Lī-ka Tsuân Kau-kah Im-gák-thuân 利家泉九甲音樂團 (Regal Quanzhou *Kau-kah* Band).[24]

The speech and songs preserved more Quanzhou sounds than other kinds of theatre in Taiwan, but it was not the Quanzhou dialect. Compared with the Quanzhou dialect in China, the sounds of Taiwanized southern *Hokkien* had been integrated into it.

By the 1930s, linguistic nativization in theatres had become mainstream, as this report indicates: "In recent years, lines of original old theatre have already been changed to common *Taiwan-gi*." (這幾年來，在來的舊劇的口白已經改做通常台灣語).[25]

In newly defined "Taiwanese classical theatre" during the colonial period, *sam-giog cai-ca* and *pun-te kua-a* used the ordinary vernacular in Taiwan from the beginning; other genres displayed linguistic Taiwanization. Based on this, we can see that "Taiwanese classical theatre" was not merely a label. The definition also suggests a qualitative change in local theatre. "Taiwanese classical theatre" could imply classical theatre whose language had been Taiwanized.

[24] "Ermei jiufu." For more information, see Fukuoka Shota et al, *Nippon Columbia's overseas recordings,* p. 28, serial numbers: 黒リーガル T171-A~T174-B; p. 33, serial numbers: 黒リーガル T216-A~T217-B; 黒リーガル T223-A~T224-B.

[25] *Taiwan shinminhō*, Sep. 13, 1930, p. 11.

Because of linguistic Taiwanization in classical theatre and the pursuit of realism, as the previous chapter outlined, when Taiwanese reformed theatre/Taiwanese opera developed, it directly adopted *Tai-gi*. As previously mentioned in Chapter Three, language was also a key point for theatre reform. Moreover, *Tai-gi* was equally a modern concept, as analyzed in the first section above; therefore, it was connected with the concept of "theatre in modern times." In 1930, a critique on *Taiwan shinminhō* illustrates this point as it explains why *kua-a-hi* was popular:

> First, *kua-a-hi* is set in modern times and is a static theatre about human interest, like Japanese *shingeki* and Western opera. Second, *kua-a-hi* adopts the common *Taiwan-gi* for songs and lines and therefore it is easy for audiences to understand. (一、歌仔戲是根據在於現代的，（日本新劇西洋歌劇）靜的人情劇。二、 歌仔戲使用臺詞歌曲是普通台灣語，觀眾很容易了解。)[26]

Taiwanese reformed theatre/Taiwanese opera was related to Japanese modern theatre and opera, which was analyzed in the previous chapter; this concurrent description clearly reflects this as well. Taiwanese reformed theatre is connected then with the "modern time," and "*Taiwan-gi*," a modern concept.

The following descriptions show that using *Taiwan-gi* was connected with other characteristics of reform.

In 1927, the *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* commented that "reformed theatre, which is now being performed at Íng-lo̍k Theatre […]. The plot is extraordinary. […] The lines are purely in *Taiwan-gi*." (現時在永樂座扮演之改良戲[…]情節離奇[…]其說白純

[26] Ibid., Sep. 13, 1930, p. 11.

用臺灣語)[27] The "extraordinary" plot was a characteristic of popular current events plays at that time, and current events plays were a key element for theatre reform.

Also in the same year, the Gē-sùt Kik-sin Siā 藝術革新社 (Artistic Reform Company), was introduced in the *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*. The characteristics of this troupe were that: "Lines and lyrics are purely in *Tai-gi*. There are costumes fitting in with the times as well as stage settings fitting in with plots. A few tens of serial plays have already been composed." (說白唱曲純用臺語。衣裳隨時代爲用，布景亦隨劇情應有。已編成連續者數十齣。)[28] The "serial plays" were brought by Shanghai troupes and were quite popular in Taiwan at that time. The description of costumes and stage settings reflect an emphasis on realism, which was the central idea of theatre reform.

The characteristics described above were the spirit of theatre reform—the aesthetics of realism, as the previous chapter already described. Theatre had to represent reality and catch up with the trend. Stage settings had to show reality. Costumes had to fit in with the times. Plots had to reflect social actualities. After these, *Tai-gi* must be also used because it was the language spoken by people in everyday life in Taiwan.

Because the aesthetic of realism inspired people to think about Taiwanese realism, the representative position of *lan-than* began to be queried. Ueyama explained that reformed theatre was much preferred by audiences because it used *Tai-gi*. It reformed "the weakness of original orthodox theatre" (從來の正劇の缺點)—the language that people did not understand.[29] So-called "original orthodox theatre" undoubtedly refers

[27] *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō,* May. 18, 1927, p. 4.
[28] Ibid., May. 31, 1927, p. 4.
[29] Ueyama, op.cit., pp. 91-92.

to *lan-than.*

This comment in the *Taiwan minhō* (in 1927) expresses the same idea:

> Second: the Taiwanese theatrical circle, which has to be reformed
> In terms of the original Taiwanese theatre, their themes do not fit in with the trend. Their performances lose the original appearance of theatre and become mechanical actions. Not only audiences, but also the players do not realize the performances on stage and in the lines. How does it arouse audiences' emotions, such as happiness or anger? Now, a different kind of theatre, *kua-a-hi*, appears. […] The lines are in the Taiwanese vernacular, unlike old theatre, the speech of which is incomprehensible. These two characteristics are better than old theatre.
> (二、要改革的臺灣劇界
> 向來的臺灣劇不但是取材的不合時勢，就是一切的表演已經是失去劇的本來的面目，成做一種的機械的動作。在舞臺上的表演和所說的科白，不但是觀眾不得意會，就是表演者也是不懂的，怎得誘起觀眾的快樂和感憤呢？
> 現在又再發生一種歌仔戲[…]所說的科白也是用臺灣白話，不像舊戲說那種不明不白的；對這兩點說來卻是勝於舊戲。)[30]

The so-called "mechanical actions" was in fact a characteristic of the symbolist tradition in Chinese theatre. However, the writer now considers it to be "losing the original face of the theatre." When the writer talks about "theatrical reform," he obviously means that theatre should fit in with the modern times, pursue realism and use the Taiwanese vernacular.

[30] *Taiwan minhō*, Jan. 09, 1927, pp. 4-5.

Similarly, Beijing opera was previously called "orthodox music/language" (*tsia̍nn-im*), but now this linguistic characteristic became a "weakness," as the introduction to Gē-sù̍t Kik-sin Siā points out: "The language of troupes from Shanghai and Fuzhou is different from ours. Their speaking and singing cannot be understood and it is therefore uninteresting." (上海、福州諸班，言語不同；其說白唱曲聞之不解，意趣索然。)

In 1924, a reader published his comment on the Íng-lo̍k troupe from Taoyuan (桃園詠樂社), in *Tainan shinpō*:

> This time, female players of Íng-lo̍k troupe from Taoyuan will perform at the New Stage in Taipei. It is heard that the stage settings as well as new and fashionable costumes are prepared. […]We hope that, in addition to lyrics, the lines are also able to be changed completely to *Tai-gi*, in order to turn the theatre into a special reformed theatre of Taiwan. It will not only arouse the interest of most of audiences, but is also capable to be called special actress.
> (臺北新舞臺此番開演桃園詠樂社之女優，聞有布景及時新服色[…]吾人惟望該班除唱念而外，科白一概改用臺語，爲臺灣特別改良戲。不獨可以吸收多數觀客之趣味，且堪稱爲特色之女優。)[31]

Íng-lo̍k was a Beijing opera troupe organized by local people. Originally, local Beijing opera troupes were considered "superior" to other types of local troupes, but now, the commentator hopes that this troupe would change to *Tai-gi*. To the reader, "actress," "stage setting" and "fashionable costume" were characteristics of reform; however, it was not enough. "*Tai-gi*" should be included to complete an "exclusive reformed

[31] *Tainan shinpō*, May. 28, 1924, p. 5.

theatre for Taiwan."

In 1925, a comment in the *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* also suggested that local troupes play Taiwanese reformed theatre, instead of Chinese theatre: "*Kua-a-hi* on the island uses *Tai-gi* for speaking and singing […]. Actually, it is more beneficial than playing Chinese theatre, when it is uneasy to speak and sing in Chinese." (本島之歌仔戲以臺語爲說白及歌唱。[…] 實比之演支那劇，以支那語說白及歌唱不易者較爲有益。)[32] This idea further separated the idea of "*Tai-gi*" from "Chinese language."

Looking over the above comments, it is possible to say that during the mid-1920s, Taiwanese reformed theatre, which used *Tai-gi*, had replaced *lan-than*, which used Mandarin. It was the representative form of classical theatre in Taiwan, and then further replaced Beijing opera, which used Mandarin, as a more reformed theatre for Taiwanese audiences.

III. The development of the concept of "Taiwanese *peh-li-hi*"

The change in the meaning of the term "*pe̍h-lī-hi*" 白字戲 (*pe̍h-lī* theatre) in Taiwan was another aspect of Taiwanization. The term "*pe̍h-lī*" 白字 was the opposite of Mandarin. It could also mean vernacular. *Peh-li* or *peh-li-hi* often referred to theatre that was not played in Mandarin, usually the dialect of the theatre. In southern *Hokkien* areas, *peh-li-hi* was particularly connected with *tshit-tsu-pan* and other types of theatre adopting Quanzhou music, *lam-kuan*. *Guanyin huijie shiyi* 官音彙解釋義 (A Collection and Explanation for the Official Language) by Cai Shi 蔡奭 (?-?) in 1748 is the first southern Fujian source to mention this. In this book, the author

[32] *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, Dec.13, 1925, p. 4.

explains that "to play *peh-li*, sing Quanzhou music and dialect correctly (做白字，正唱泉腔)."[33] In Cai's definition, *peh-li* was first equated with Quanzhou dialect or music. "*Peh-li*" seemed a common term, but it is surprising that in the sources of southern Fujian, it is rarely seen. The connection between "*peh-li*" and Quanzhou theatre was mainly found through fieldwork. According to Chiang Wu-chang, there were three systems of string puppet theatre in Taiwan: Quanzhou, Zhangzhou and *Hakka*.[34] The music of Quanzhou system was called *peh-li* music.[35] Similarly, according to Chen Long-ting 陳龍廷, glove puppet theatre in Taiwan that adopted *lam-kuan* was also called *peh-li* glove puppetry.[36] Haifeng 海豐 and Lufeng 陸豐 in Guangdong province are southern *Hokkien* areas. *Peh-li-hi* was in these two regions, which was also called *tshit-tsu-pan*.[37]

In Taiwan, the earliest existing record of "*peh-li*" is found in *Qianjin pu* 千金譜 (A Score of Thousands of Gold), a book of folk rhymes published in 1852.[38] The term is only mentioned in a rhyme, without any relevant details or explanation. So far, it is the only discovered record from the period of Qing rule. During the colonial period, on 10th April, 1900, *peh-li* glove puppetry was reported in the *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*. The report clearly indicates that the troupe named it specifically *peh-li* in order to distinguish it from *lan-than* and *tio-tiau*. Then in the following year, 1901, "*peh-li-hi*" was recorded in Fūzan Dō's "Haiyū to engeki."[39] From Fūzan Dō's description, we know that this *peh-li-hi* referred to what had previously been known as *tshit-tsu-pan*, because the characteristics were completely the same. Until the late

[33] *Zhongguo xiquzhi Fujian juan*, p. 66.
[34] Chiang Wu-chang, op.cit., p. 17.
[35] Ibid., p. 87.
[36] Chen Long-ting, *Taiwan Budaixi*, pp. 43-44.
[37] *Zhongguo xiquzhi Guangdong juan*, pp. 90-92.
[38] Huang Chen-Nan, "Taiwan chuantong qimeng," p. 164.
For the full text, see "*Qianjin pu.*"
[39] Fūzan Dō, op.cit., p. 28.

1910s, *peh-li-hi* was a common name for the previous *tshit-tsu-pan*, as journals or newspapers in this period show.

However, after that, *peh-li-hi* began to incorporate new genres that did not belong to the Quanzhou system. On 26th and 27th July, 1920, the *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* published two articles, entitled: "Hì-kiȯk kái-liông lūn."[40] They were winning essays in a contest held by the Tsông-bûn Siā 崇文社 (Tsông-bûn Society). Both articles mentioned *peh-li-hi*, but refer to different forms of classical theatre. The article by Khóo Tsú-bûn describes that "Previously, our citizenship belonged to China […]. We came from Quanzhou, therefore *peh-li-hi* is all played in the Quanzhou dialect. However, is today still an epoch for them?" (昔吾人籍隸支那 […] 來自泉州，故白字戲皆以泉語。而今豈其時乎？)[41] The other by Muî-sing 梅生[42] argued that: "It is needless to discuss the various forms of theatre, such as *cai-ca-hi*, *tshia-koo*, *tshit-tsu-pan* and glove puppetry. Even for *lan-than*, *kau-kah*, *peh-li*, *kuann-im*, as well as foreign troupes from Bejing, Tianjin or Shanghai, what they play are mostly harmful to society's morals. (如採茶、車鼓、七子、掌戲等無論矣；即如亂彈、九甲、白字、官音，以及外來京、津、滬上等班，所演諸劇亦多傷風敗俗。)[43] The author Khóo Tsú-bûn still defines *peh-li-hi* as classical theatre of the Quanzhou dialect, but in Muî-sing's article, *peh-li* has already been separated from *tshit-tsu-pan*.

What did Muî-sing mean by "*peh-li*"? In order to discover an answer, I searched advertisements and reports on *peh-li-hi* plays and troupes in newspapers. I found that 1922 was a watershed. Before this year, *peh-li-hi* troupes would mark *tshit-tsu-pan* or

[40] One of the articles is mentioned in Chapter Three.
[41] *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō,* Jul. 26, 1920, p. 4.
[42] A pen name. The real name of the author is now unknown.
[43] *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō,* Jul. 27, 1920, p. 6.

lam-kuan, as "Kim-pó-hing from Tainan (*peh-li* of *lam-kuan*)" (臺南金寶興班（南音白字）), "Co-performances of Kiōng-lo̍k-hn̂g and Jinleyuan troupes from Hsinchu of reformed *peh-li* and *tshit-tsu-pan"* (新竹改良白字七子班共樂園及晉樂園合演), and "*peh-li-hi* of *lam-kuan* of Tshing-lo̍k-hn̂g troupe from Beitou" (北投清樂園南管白字戲). In terms of their plays, half was the same as those found in southern Fujian, the traditional plays of *tshit-tsu-pan*. The other half was not the traditional plays of *tshit-tsu-pan.*[44] Until this time, we can still recognize a Quanzhou connection with *peh-li-hi*. But from 1922, *peh-li-hi* troupes were no longer marked as *tshit-tsu-pan* or *lam-kuan.* On the other hand, more and more troupes would mark reformed, as "reformed *peh-li-hi*" (改良白字戲), "the male and female troupe of reformed *peh-li-hi*" (白字改良男女班) and "reformed *peh-li-hi* of An-pó-siā from Ē-pi-thâu" (下埤頭安保社改良白字戲).[45]

Meanwhile, also from this year, traditional *tshit-tsu-pan* plays began to decrease sharply. Further, we find among non-*tshit-tsu-pan* plays that many were popular *kua-a-hi* plays during the 1920s to the 1930s, such as *Madam Pandanus, a Surprising Case in Tainan* (臺南奇案林投姐), *Tsîn Sè-bí Didn't Admit His Ex-wife* (秦世美不認前妻), *A Tale of Paper Horse* (紙馬記), *A Surprising Case in Hok-tsiu* (福州奇案), *Divine Retribution for Unfaithfulness* (薄情報), *Substituting a Racoon for a Prince* (貍貓換太子), *Tāi-sùn Tilled the Land* (大舜耕田), *Sam-phik and Ing-tâi* (三伯英台) and *Burning the Platform of Hundreds of Flowers* (火燒百花臺).[46]

According to Hsu Ya-Hsiang, Tshing-lo̍k-hn̂g, Kiōng-lo̍k-hn̂g and Kim-pó-hing became

[44] See appendix 4-1. The traditional *tshit-tsu-pan* plays are listed in the fourth column of the table, and the non-traditional plays are listed in the fifth and final column.
[45] See appendix 4-1.
[46] See appendix 4-1.

kua-a-hi troupes from the mid-1920s.[47] A report on 10th August 1926 likewise connects *peh-li* with Taiwanese opera: "*peh-li* opera troupe of Miaoli, which is currently playing in Southern Theatre in Chiayi" (現在嘉義南座開演中之苗栗白字歌劇).[48] The reports cited in Chapter Three also indicate this clearly. "*Cai-ca-hi* and *kua-a-hi* are given dignified names as '*peh-li-hi*' or as 'reformed troupe'" (採茶、歌仔戲，美其名稱曰：「白字戲」、曰：「改良班」).[49] "*Peh-li-hi* which is currently played at the South Theatre in Chiayi City is called 'reformed theatre,' but it is actually *cai-ca-hi*" (嘉義街南座目下所演之白字戲，稱爲「改良劇」，實乃採茶戲也).[50]

This phenomenon was quite different from Khóo Tsú-bûn's description in 1920: "*peh-li-hi* is all played in the Quanzhou dialect." What is more important, *peh-li* was connected with the concept of "reformed." This was clearly a new development for a new era. Based on this, it is possible to say that Taiwanese *peh-li-hi* was born. It not only meant the theatre that originated from Quanzhou, or the opposite of Mandarin theatre, but further suggested a "reformed" form. It corresponded to linguistic Taiwanization within classical theatre, which was viewed as "reform" as well.

While Taiwanese *peh-li-hi* was developing, people in Taiwan also began to distinguish Quanzhou *peh-li-hi* and Chaozhou *peh-li-hi* from Taiwanese *peh-li-hi*. Local troupes were called "Tshing-lo̍k-hn̂g *peh-li-hi*," "Ha̍p-tông-tshun *peh-li-hi* troupe" (合同春白字戲班),[51] "Xincaiyun *peh-li-hi* troupe," "*peh-li-hi* from Beitou," "*peh-li-hi* of Íng-lo̍k-hn̂g from Hsinchu (新竹永樂園白字戲),[52]

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47 Hsu, *Rizhi shiqi Taiwan xiqu*, pp. 169-171.
48 *Tainan shinpō*, Aug. 10, 1926, p. 6.
49 Ibid., Sep. 22, 1924, p. 5.
50 Ibid., Jul. 10, 1924, p. 5.
51 *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō,* Aug. 4, 1921, p. 6.
52 *Tainan shinpō,* Dec. 1, 1923, p. 5.

"Tshing-lo̍k Siā *peh-li-hi* male and female Taoyuan troupe" (桃園清樂社男女班白字戲), or merely "*peh-li-hi*" and "*peh-li-hi* troupe." Instead, troupes from Quanzhou or Chaozhou would be clearly marked "Quanzhou's" or "Chaozhou's," such as the following report in the *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* on 25th July, 1918:

> This time, the Chaozhou troupe that is performing in New Stage is similar to *tshit-tsu-pan* of Quanzhou in the tone of singing and speech. The theatrical gestures are not very different, perhaps because they have the same origin. That is *peh-li-hi* of Quanzhou, while this is *peh-li-hi* of Chaozhou? (此次在新舞臺扮演之潮州班，唱念說白，調與泉州七子班類似，舉止不甚懸殊。殆彼此同其源流。彼爲泉州白字戲，此則潮州白字戲者歟？)[53]

To people in Taiwan, Quanzhou *peh-li-hi* or Chaozhou *peh-li-hi* were already "foreign" classical theatre, and needed a particular explanation. Another report on 3rd June, 1921 in *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* also clearly distinguishes the local *peh-li-hi* from Chaozhou theatre: "At the beginning, local *peh-li-hi* was played. After that, it was the turn of Yuan Zheng Xing and San Qing troupes from Chaozhou. It is heard that the Yuan Zheng Xing show is the best […] *peh-li-hi* is not. […]" (最初演本地白字戲，繼演潮州源正興、三慶班等。聞其成績，源正興最良。[…]白字戲則不然 […])[54]

On 18th January, 1929, there was another report in *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, which deserves notice:

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[53] *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō,* Jul. 25, 1918, p. 4.
[54] Ibid., Jun. 3, 1921, p. 6.

Taipei Broadcasting Administration plan to broadcast Chinese *peh-li* music from 8:30 pm in the evening of 18th. The singers are Tân Kim-hô and another two members of Lâm-tshing Society from Zhonghe Village, Haishan Town. The title of the tune is 'Cutting Silk Clothes'.

(臺北放送局十八夜八時半起竝擬放送中華白字曲。歌者爲海山郡中和庄南清社陳金和外二名。曲名：〈剪羅衣〉云。)[55]

"Cutting Silk Clothes" was in fact a *tshit-tsu-pan* traditional play, and the programme was performed by local singers. However, it was viewed as "Chinese *peh-li*." This shows more clearly that Quanzhou theatre was considered to be "foreign."

IV. Vernacularization in Taiwan

If we search for reports on Taiwanese classical theatre, excluding *lan-than* and *xi-pin*, we discover that from the 1920s, the term "vernacular" was also emphasized, along with "*Tai-gi*." Using the Taiwanese vernacular, like using *Tai-gi*, was considered to be a significant characteristic of these kinds of theatre. It certainly corresponded to the trend of vernacularization. This trend was seen in many fields throughout the colonial period before the war, as the following table shows.

Table 4-1 The vernacularization movements in Taiwan

Time	Phenomena and activities	The main participants
Mid-1890s	Taiwan *jūgoin* 臺灣十五音 (Taiwanese 15 Syllabary) was invented.[56]	Japanese officials and Taiwanese assistants

[55] Ibid., Jan. 18, 1929, p. 4.
[56] Klöter, op.cit., pp. 136-137; Wu Shou-li, op.cit., pp. 94-95.

Late 1890s	Japanese used Chinese characters to invent *Taiwango* script.[57]	Japanese officials and Taiwanese assistants
Late 1890s	Songs of *pun-te kua-a* appeared. *Tshia-koo* flourished.	The public
From 1900s	*Tshia-koo*, *sam-giog cai-ca* and *pun-te kua-a* flourished.	The public
First decade of 1900s	Taiwan *seigeki* was created in 1909.[58]	Japanese producer and the public
1910s	The troupe of Taiwan *seigeki* was active.[59]	Japanese producer and the public
Late 1910s	Taiwanese reformed theatre/Taiwanese opera was born.	The public
Early 1920s	The Taiwanese New Culture Movement (臺灣新文化運動) was launched.[60]	The Taiwanese elite society, including those who had received traditional Chinese education, the new generation of the intelligentsia and the public

[57] Zhang Anqi, "Taiwan baihua," pp. 30-31; Klöter, op.cit., pp. 148-149.
[58] Shih, op.cit., pp. 53.
[59] Ibid., p. 55; 58.
[60] Chiu, *Jiuju yu xinju,* p. 293; Sung-sheng Yvonne Chang, "Taiwanese New Literature," p. 262; 264.

Early 1920s	The Taiwanese New Theatre Movements was launched.[61]	The new generation of the intelligentsia and the public
Early 1920s	Modern Taiwanese literature began to be created.[62]	The new generation of the intelligentsia
Early 1920s	Silent films started to be narrated in Taiwanese.[63]	The public
Late 1920s	New Taiwanese popular songs were created for the phonograph record industry.[64]	The public
Early 1930s	The Nativist Literary debate (鄉土文學論戰) and the Taiwanese Language debate (臺灣話文論戰) rose (1931-32).[65] Both were a part of Taiwanese New Literature Movements. (臺灣新文學運動)[66]	The new generation of the intelligentsia
Early 1930s	*Kua-a tsheh* began to be created in Taiwan in a great quantity.[67]	The public

Some may argue that local theatre will naturally use the local vernacular. But how people viewed the vernacular in theatre is another question. Theatre which uses the local vernacular is not inevitably regarded as representative of that area. As the above

[61] Chiu, *Jiuju yu xinju,* pp. 307-308; Yang Du, *Taiwan xinju yundong,* p. 49; 58; Shih, op.cit., pp. 92-93.
[62] Chang, "Taiwanese New Literature," p. 262.
[63] Ye Long-Yan, *Taiwan dianying*, p. 185.
[64] Hwang Shinn-jang, op.cit., pp. 40-41.
[65] Chang, "Taiwanese New Literature," p. 266.
[66] Although Chang indicated that the pioneer of the movement is New Versus Old Literary debate in the middle 1920s, it is not included in the table because the debate mainly involved classic Chinese and modern mandarin vernacular. Chang, "Taiwanese New Literature," p. 265.
[67] Zhang Anqi, op.cit., pp. 44-45. Accroding to Zhang, Previously, *kua-a tsheh* was usually imported from China.

analysis has shown, in Taiwan, by the 1910s, when local Taiwanese writers talked about the theatrical circle in Taiwan, they referred to Beijing opera. Similarly, when Japanese writers criticized Taiwanese theatre, they referred to *lan-than*. To Taiwanese people, the language of Beijing opera and *lan-than* existed only on stage; they were certainly not the vernacular or colloquial language. However, these two kinds of theatre were chosen as a typical model for classical theatre in Taiwan. Nevertheless, this viewpoint changed in the 1920s. The above table reveals that the 1920s was when Taiwanese vernacularization entered a golden era. *Tai-gi* took the place of the previous Mandarin, becoming the mainstream for mass entertainment, covering traditional and modern popular songs, traditional and modern theatre, film, and so on. Furthermore, it also became a language for cultural, theatrical and literary movements advocated by the intelligentsia in society, including the older generation who had received a literary Chinese education and the new generation, who had received a Japanese education. Moreover, almost everyone of any social status joined in the vernacularzation process: the public, the intellectuals and the elite. This kind of social climate was unprecedented.

Scholars have thought that the Taiwanese New Literature Movement was largely the result of the May Fourth Movement in China, which had started on May 4th, 1919. However, the table above shows that vernacularization in Taiwan was not limited to literature; moreover, it had started earlier in the mid-1890s. The vernacularization of Taiwanese classical theatre and the beginning of Taiwanese reformed theatre was prior to the creation of modern Taiwanese literature. It is possible to regard them as pioneers of the modern Taiwanese literature movement.

During 1924-1925, the New Versus Old Literary debate was provoked. The debate

was between advocates of classic Chinese and of the modern Mandarin vernacular. The issue did not directly involve the Taiwanese vernacular. However, Taiwanese classical theatre unexpectedly became part of the debate. On 11th April, 1925, there was a call for contributions to *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō:*

> Vernacular poetry and prose are burgeoning in the island. Because of this trend, we plan to organize a literary society to help studying the vernacular. The society is named "The society of folksongs, poetry and prose." Qualifying members should be good at mountain songs, country songs, or *cai-ca-hi*. No literati or refined scholars are allowed. The first subject is: Emperor Qinshihuang burned classics. There are no restrictions on the form and the rhyme. Please submit in 10 days. The works will be submitted to the Revolutionary Literature Society, and then be appraised by Mr. Don't Understand a Word. The first ten prizes is a *tshia-koo* play. The first prize also includes a copy of the *No-character Book from Heaven*. The contest is for literary reform. We invite new people to participate. (By Another Kind of Revolutionary)
>
> 白話詩文。蔓延島內。茲鑒於時勢所趨。欲設一詩文會。以資白話之研究。名曰山歌詩文社。結社之人。則必嫻熟山歌或村歌。或採茶歌者。爲合格。若文人雅士。概行謝絕。今擬定第一期課題。詩題。秦始皇焚書。不拘體韻。十日爲限。卷交維新詩文社。彙呈一字不通先生評選。十名內各贈以車鼓戲一臺。第一名則加賞無字天書一部。事屬維新。願一般新人贊成（別樣維新者）[68]

The contest looks like a joke. It is more likely that the writer intended to satirize vernacularization with this advertisement. The concept of revolution is used ironically.

[68] *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō,* Apr. 11, 1925, p. 4.

The allusion the Qin Emperor is a metaphor for the destruction of the literary classics. People who use the vernacular were not well-educated intellectuals. People who praised it knew little about literature. Vernacular poetry or prose were empty works.

Interestingly, only a few days later, a *peh-li-hi* actor responded to the call on 14th April:

> We learnt *peh-li-hi* since childhood. What we write is vernacular prose; what we recite is vernacular poetry; what we sing is vernacular songs. Mountain songs, *cai-ca-hi* and plough-driving songs, and so on, are all within our abilities. However, people despise us for vulgarity and take no notice of us. Therefore, our business has declined and we cannot earn a living. We have no alternative. Now we hear that a vernacular literature society is organized in Taiwan to solicit specifically vernacular poetry, prose and songs. These are definitely our professional specialities. If we contribute to it, we will certainly win the prize. This is our good fortune. (By *Peh-li-hi* Troupe)
> 我們自幼學習白字戲。寫的是白話文。念的是白話詩。唱的是白話曲。諸如山歌、採茶、駛犁歌、都是種種皆會的。因爲世人嫌我們鄙俗不堪。不肯招呼我們。所以生意冷落。日食難度。這就無可奈何了。今回聽得臺灣有人設立白話詩文社。專募白話詩文。白話歌曲。正是合我們所能。想我們出頭應募。必得高選。好了。這就是我們班中人的福氣了 （白字戲班）[69]

It is hard to know whether the contributor really was a *peh-li-hi* troupe actor. This statement was probably a metaphor as well. The reply implied two ideas: first, it is

[69] Ibid., Apr. 14, 1925, p. 4.

natural to understand and to create vernacular literature and theatre; second, literary creation is not necessarily limited to the intelligentsia of society. When the two statements singled out *tshia-koo*, *cai-ca-hi* and *peh-li-hi*, it probably showed that these kinds of classical theatre were viewed as typical cases of vernacularization. They also imply that classical theatre in the Taiwanese vernacular, such as *tshia-koo*, *cai-ca-hi* and *peh-li-hi*, was connected with the concept of revolution, therefore opponents could also use the term as satire. The vernacularization of Taiwanese classical theatre certainly corresponded to the pursuit of realism in theatre reform in Taiwan: the Taiwanese vernacular was the daily language of Taiwanese people. Furthermore, the idea in the above debate already revealed an embryo of The Nativist Literary debate and the Taiwanese Language debate in the 1930s. It might also suggest that the vernacularization in Taiwanese classical theatre is a pioneer of the modern Taiwanese literature movement.

This new trend, whether it happened naturally, or was advocated by the intelligentsia in society, cannot be separated from the decline of *Hàn-bûn* 漢文(Chinese speaking, writing and reading) education during the colonial period.[70] The *Hàn-bûn* curriculum in Taiwan included three courses. First, the speaking course was Mandarin. Second, the writing course was literary Chinese (*wenyanwen* 文言文). The third course, the reading course, was more special. A specific phonetic system of southern *Hokkien* would be taught. This phonetic system was called *thak-chheh-im* 讀冊音 (literary pronunciation). Speakers of southern *Hokkien* would use this system to recite literary Chinese such as poetry or prose.[71] The counterpart was *peh-oe-im* 白話音 (colloquial pronunciation). It is almost impossible to recite in colloquial pronunciation.

[70] Klöter, op.cit., p. 135; Patricia Tsurumi, "Education and Assimilation," pp. 620-621.
[71] Klöter, op.cit., p. 160.

In the above three *Hàn-bûn* courses, Mandarin and *wenyanwen* were not vernacular.[72]

At the start of the Japanese colonial period, the official language was replaced with Japanese. Learning Mandarin and *wenyanwen* gradually became unnecessary. It was much more important for new generations to learn Japanese. In fact, the focus of Japanese educational policy was always on language. The ambition was to encourage citizens to learn and to use Japanese. The Japanese authorities also tried to reduce the learning of *Hàn-bûn*. This was revealed in the policy towards traditional private Chinese schools (*tsu-pâng; syobō* 書房) and Chinese courses in public education.[73] By the middle of the Japanese colonial period, the use of Mandarin and *wenyanwen,* was declining, but the new official language, Japanese, was not yet universal. Local language therefore emerged in this interval and vernacularization was rapid. This is why *kua-a-hi*, *cai-ca-hi* or *tshia-koo* and so on, would especially be noticeable for their characteristic use of vernacular and would further be viewed as representative theatre from the 1920s.

V. Linguistic Taiwanization in the Taiwanese reformed theatre/Taiwanese opera scripts and phonograph recordings

Being distinguishable from Quanzhou theatre and the use of the vernacular were considered to be the characteristics of non-Mandarin genres of Taiwanese classical theatre, especially Taiwanese reformed theatre/Taiwanese opera. The scripts and

[72] In daily speech or conversations by southern *Hokkien* speakers, some words would be pronounced in *thak-chheh-im*, therefore so-called literary pronunciation in fact was not merely used for reciting texts. See Klöter, op.cit., pp. 19-21.
[73] Zhang Anqi, op.cit., pp. 17-19; Klöter, op.cit., p. 135.

phonograph recordings of Taiwanese reformed theatre/Taiwanese opera clearly show this. As mentioned in the previous section, people at this time gradually distinguished Taiwanese *peh-li-hi* from Quanzhou *peh-li-hi.* Therefore, where necessary, I will also use a Quanzhou script for comparison. The comparison will clearly show why Taiwanese reformed theatre was distinguishable from Quanzhou theatre. Furthermore, the differences from Quanzhou theatre were also "reformed characteristics" during the colonial period. So we can see what "reformed language" was in that era. In the following section, I will firstly compare two Quanzhou theatre scripts. One was published in 1884 and the other in 1952. Then I will compare the 1952 script with a *kua-a-hi* script of 1935.

The script chosen is the dictation of *Tân Sann* 陳三 (Tân Sann) from a Quanzhou player, Cai Youben 蔡尤本 (1889-1974).[74] It is a *tshit-tsu-pan* play and is a Quanzhou theatre classic. This play is also called *Tân Sann Gōo-niû* 陳三五娘 (Tân Sann and Gōo-niû) and *Lijing ji* 荔鏡記 (A Tale of Lychees and a Mirror), regardless of the genre in Quanzhou and Taiwan. Cai Youben was born in 1889.[75] He is a representative performer of *tshit-tsu-pan* in Quanzhou. Cai's script was dictated in 1952.[76] In other words, the period when he was trained, performed on stage and was active is the same as the Japanese colonial period in Taiwan. His script was dictated only 7 years after the end of the colonial period. Therefore, his script could be said to represent a common situation of *tshit-tsu-pan* in Quanzhou during the first half of the 20th century. Comparing Cai's script with an earlier Quanzhou script, *Lizhi ji* 荔枝記

[74] The script is collected in Zheng Guoquan et al, *Quanzhou chuantong xiqu congshu, dierjuan, liyuanxi · xiaoliyuan jumu* 泉州傳統戲曲叢書第一卷　梨園戲·小梨園劇目 (A Collection of Scripts of Quanzhou Traditional Theatre, Volume I. Plays of Xiaoliyuan, Liyuan Theatre), pp. 377-498.
[75] *Zhongguo xiquzhi, Fujian juan,* pp. 630-631.
[76] Zheng Guoquan et al, *xiaoliyuan jumu,* volume I, p. 377.

(A Tale of Lychees) published in 1884,[77] we find that both are not very different. The table below shows some examples scenes.

Table 4-2 A comparison between the 1884 script, *A Tale of Lychees* and Cai Youben's script

Script	*Lizhi ji* (A Tale of Lychees)	*Tân Sann* Cai Youben's script
Time of publishing or recording	1884	1952
Genre	*tshit-tsu-pan*	*tshit-tsu-pan*
Title of scenes	Headquarters Functionaries Catch Tân Sann, Gōo-niû and Iah-tshun 公差鎖拿	Headquarters Functionaries Catch Tân Sann, Gōo-niû and Iah-tshun 公差捉拿
	Interrogating the Adultery Case 鞫審奸情	Interrogating the Adultery Case 審奸情
	Gōo-niû Visits the Prisoner 五娘探牢	Visiting the Prisoner 探牢
	Escorted to Yaizhou 起解崖州	Escorted 起解

In Cai's script, the scene titles are the abbreviations of those in the 1884 script. As for the content, including lines and lyrics, Cai's script is also similar to the older script.

[77] The script is collected in Wu Shou-li, *Qing Guangxu kan lizhiji xiwen jiaoli* 清光緒刊荔枝記戲文校理 (A Script of *A Tale of Leeches*, Published in Guangxu Period of Qing Dynasty, Collated by Wu Shou-li), pp. 9-269, and Zheng Guoquan et al, *xiaoliyuan jumu,* volume I, pp. 251-376.

This shows that between 1884 and 1952, the content of this play did not change very much in Quanzhou.

I will use a *kua-a-hi* script, *Tân Sann Gōo-niû,* based on the lyric cards in the collection of Columbia recordings, to compare with the Quanzhou script. The lyric cards were issued along with the records in 1935.[78]

1. Using *Tai-gi*

As the previous section has already pointed out, Mandarin theatre began to be criticized and viewed as a weakness. The birth of Taiwanese reformed theatre was obviously a response to the idea of this era. From Cai's script, we can see that Mandarin would also appear in dialect theatre. In the "Interrogating the Adultery Case scene" (審奸情) of the Cai's script, the Prefect's lyrics and lines are in Mandarin. Therefore, in this play, there is another role of "interpreter" at the court. This role had to interpret for two sides, the Prefect and the defence, Tân Sann, Gōo-niû and Iah-tshun. Often in the *tshit-tsu-pan* scripts, the roles of officials would speak and sing in Mandarin, in order to clearly mark his official status. In another scene, "Meeting the Brother" (遇兄), there is also the same contrast. Tân Sann's older brother is the Salt Distribution Commissioner of Southern Guangdong (廣南運使). He speaks to Headquarters Functionaries in Mandarin*,* but when speaking to his family, he uses the Quanzhou dialect.

However, there is no such distinction in the *kua-a-hi* scripts. Whether spoken lines or lyrics, they are all in the *Tai-gi*. In the scene, "Interrogating Tân Sann," the Prefect

[78] The information of these records will be annotated later in a table.

and the defence all have a conversation directly. There is not an interpreter's role in the other plays, either, although the scene in court was very common in *kua-a-hi* at that time. *Kua-a-hi* did not adopt Mandarin, as with Quanzhou theatre, because using a language that was readily understandable to the audience was a characteristic of reformed theatre. This change also shows that the different linguistic characteristics between different social statuses in former times had been removed from *kua-a-hi*. It reveals again that the interest of *kua-a-hi* was to reflect the contemporary linguistic phenomenon of the public, and no longer to reflect the different linguistic characteristics between the different social statuses of the past.

As Chapter Three indicated, many people criticized the *lan-than* players as being incapable of creating new plays. These critics usually thought the players lacked talent and knowledge. However, they did not consider that language might be the biggest barrier. As speakers also pointed out, the *lan-than* players often only imitated Mandarin, but did not quite understand its meaning. In this situation, it was naturally difficult for them to use this language to compose new works. Therefore it is true that, although *lan-than* was still very popular in the colonial period, there is no noticeable trace of troupes or amateur clubs creating new plays.

On the other hand, phonograph recordings show that *kua-a-hi* created a great number of plays. The ability to create new scripts fast and in a large number was naturally due to the language. Even with stories from the plays of older genres, the scripts were certainly an original creation, instead of a translation from other genres. It can also be seen through a comparison between the *kua-a-hi* and Quanzhou scripts of *Tân Sann and Gōo-niû.* The corresponding scenes are shown in the table below.

Table 4-3 A comparison between the Columbia lyric cards, Cai Youben's script and the 1884 script

Script	Columbia lyric cards	*Tân Sann* Cai Youben's script	*Lizhi ji* (A Tale of Lychees)
Time of publishing or recording	1935	1952	1884
Genre	*kua-a-hi*	*tshit-tsu-pan*	*tshit-tsu-pan*
Title of scenes	A Mission to Catch Tân Sann 出差掠陳三[79]	Headquarters Functionaries Catch Tân Sann, Gōo-niû and Iah-tshun 公差捉拿	Headquarters Functionaries Catch Tân Sann, Gōo-niû and Iah-tshun 公差鎖拿
	Interrogating Tân Sann 審陳三[80]	Interrogating the Adultery Case 審奸情	Interrogating the Adultery Case 鞫審奸情
	Gōo-niû Visits the Prisoner 五娘探監[81]	Visiting the Prisoner 探牢	Gōo-niû Visits the Prisoner 五娘探牢
	Tân Sann is banished to penal servitude	Escorted 起解	Escorted to Yaizhou 起解崖州

[79] There are two records of this scene. For more information about the records, please refer to Fukuoka et al, op.cit., p. 58, serial numbers: 赤リーガル T1011-A~T1012-B.
[80] There are three records of this scene. For more information about the records, please refer to Fukuoka et al, op.cit., pp. 58-59, serial numbers: 赤リーガル T1019-A~T1021-B.
[81] There are four records of this scene. For more information about the records, please refer to Fukuoka et al, op.cit., p. 60, serial numbers: 赤リーガル T1027-A~T1030-B.

	陳三充軍[82]		

From the scene titles of the *kua-a-hi* script, we can already see a considerable difference. When it comes to the lyrics and lines, the *kua-a-hi* script is completely different from the Quanzhou scripts.

Using *Tai-gi* made players capable of creating new scripts. Additionally, it also made players capable of word play. In the *kua-a-hi* scripts, there were plenty of witty remarks. These witticisms could only be created and understood by people who were highly skilled in this language, usually native speakers. For a reader without a good knowledge of the language, it is difficult to appreciate cleverness and humour of the wit by only reading the scripts.

Another language play in *kua-a-hi* scripts uses rhyme. As with other Chinese classical theatre, arias in the *kua-a-hi* scripts are all sung in rhyme. However, a particular characteristic of the *kua-a-hi* scripts is that most of the spoken lines are also in rhyme. This is not limited to comic roles. Generally, in traditional Chinese plays, comic roles, *chou* 丑, would sometimes have rhyming lines. When a *chou* chants these lines, the drummer would beat time for the actor. Other roles would chant a poem when appearing on the stage for the first time (which is called *shangchang shi* 上場詩, "opening poem") or before going off stage (which is called *xiachang shi* 下場詩, "ending poem"). In the *kua-a-hi* scripts, in addition to these general forms, other lines, regardless of role, are almost in rhyme as well. These lines are not necessarily in a form of poetry. The phonograph recordings show that when actors spoke these lines,

[82] There are five records of this scene. For more information about the records, please refer to Fukuoka, op.cit., pp. 64-65, serial numbers: 赤リーガル T1055-A~T1059-B.

there was no time beat, either. Therefore the whole script is verse. The following are examples in *Tân Sann and Gōo-niû*. They are neither an opening poem nor an ending poem. Sometimes, the rhymes would change in the middle of a line. The sounds of the rhymes are marked.

A line of Tân Sann:

知州[tsiu]！大膽李知州[tsiu]，爲官貪財受佑[iū]，並無听人分訴情由[iû]，將我陳三篤[sic][83]打侮辱一場[tiûnn]。害我能死免講[kóng]，害我袂死，共我小心提防[hông][84]

Prefect! Bold Prefect Lí! As an officer, you are greedy and take bribes. You do not listen to our explanation. You beat me cruelly and insult me, Tân Sann. If you hurt me until I die, there is no more argument. But if you are unable to kill me, you had better be careful and beware!

A line of Gōo-niû:

噯呀三哥，汝盡心，阮有盡義[gī]。望哥只去神明扶持[tî]，三光保庇[pì]；忍耐刑期[kî]，早回故里[lí]，夫妻團圓[înn]。捉掠早死大鼻[phīnn]，萬刀碎屍[si]，消咱滿腹恨氣[khì]。若是三哥慢返鄉里[lí]，阮娘嫺甘願共哥守了節義[gī]！[85]

Aiya! Dear Sann! You devote your heart, therefore I will act with righteousness. Hopefully the gods will support you after you leave. May the sun, moon and stars bless you. Bear the prison term and then return to your hometown early. Let us be reunited as a couple. Then dying-early big nose Lîm can be arrested and his corpse shredded by chopping it up ten thousands times. Only then will it release the anger that fills my stomach! But if you return to your hometown late, we, lady and maid,

[83] This is a misprint in the original text. The correct word should be "毒."
[84] Lyric card, Regal T1021, *Sím Tân Sann* 審陳三, p. 2.
[85] Lyric card, Regal T1059, *Tân Sann tshiong-kun* 陳三充軍, p. 3.

will preserve our chastity for you willingly!

A line of Iah-tshun:

夭壽短命也使笑[tshiò]！若人廳邊無破蓆[tshiòh]？誰人青春無風騷[so]？恁的大姊小妹顧恰好[hó]，別人免恁塊管家婆[pô]！[86]

You people who die young and have short lives! How can you laugh? How many people do not have a worn-out straw mat in their living room? Who are never flirtatious in their young age? Watch your older and younger sisters. You "housekeepers" need not meddle in other families' affairs!

A line of the Prefect:

大膽黃氏[sī]！深閨貴女[lí]，知識禮儀[gî]。焉敢不顧廉恥[thí]，私通奴婢[pī]？好好將他口經認起[khí]，免受得本官刑器[khì]！[87]

Bold Miss N̂g! A young lady of a good family should know what courtesy is. How dare you not have a sense of honour and shame and have an illicit affair with a servant? Confess honestly and you will not suffer torture.

A line of Headquarters Functionaries:

你煞不知老爺嚴命[bīng]，不准你在此講情[tsîng]。來仔！將三人枷起程[thîng]。[88]

Don't you know the strict order of the lord? You are not allowed to intercede at this point! Come! Put cangues on the three people and escort them to leave.

A line of passers-by:

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[86] Lyric card, Regal T1012, *Tshut-tshai liáh Tân Sann* 出差掠陳三, p. 2.
[87] Lyric card, Regal T1019, *Sím Tân Sann*, p. 3.
[88] Lyric card, Regal T1012, *Tshut-tshai liáh Tân Sann*, p. 1.

外哈！潮州出八景[kíng]，美查某賢脩整[tsíng]，甲奴才車拔炳[píng]，偷走看光景[kíng]，索仔縛个衫仔頂[tíng]，嘴呸打甲双平腫[tsíng]。[89]

Waha! There are eight famous views in Chaozhou. A beautiful girl presented herself well. She eloped with a servant and therefore exhausted herself. But look at her now! A rope is bound on her clothes and her cheeks are slapped until they are swollen.

Rhyming is very common in other Columbia recordings. A notable example is Riding a Donkey and Viewing flowers (*Khiâ-lû khuànn-hue* 騎驢看花).[90] The male lead and female lead only sing a short aria individually at the opening of the play, followed almost entirely by spoken lines. The lines of every role are mostly all in rhyme. From the recordings, we hear that it was typical of *kua-a-hi* before the war. This characteristic was obviously influenced by *liam kua-a* 念歌仔 (chanting songs). *Liam kua-a* is storytelling, including singing, speaking or chanting, and all in rhyme. The form is fixed; every sentence consists of seven syllables. *Liam kua-a* was often written as *kua-a tsheh* (song book) in order to be published. Before the advent of *kua-a-hi*, this kind of entertainment was already popular and there were also professional players.

This shows that, during its first decade, *kua-a-hi* did not depart completely from the performing art of storytelling. *Kua-a-hi* before the war was also in vernacular verse. So we can see that the form of verse was not against the idea of "reform." Certainly, in the colonial period, the local intellectuals who advocated literature written in the vernacular never criticized the form of verse in Taiwanese classical theatre. Perhaps

[89] Ibid., p. 2.
[90] For more information about the records, please refer to Fukuoka et al, op.cit., p. 58, serial numbers: 赤リーガル T1013-A~T1013-B.

this was because the form of verse was not against the use of the Taiwanese vernacular.

Because players and composers used *Tai-gi*, they were highly skilled in using witty remarks and rhymes. To players of *lan-than*, it was almost impossible to "play Mandarin." For Taiwanese audiences, when watching *lan-than* or Beijing opera, they might be able to guess plot, and to appreciate the dances, the voices and appearances of players, as well as the music; however, the linguistic enjoyment was the most difficult part for them. The incomprehension of the language was unsatisfying for the general audience. The linguistic play in the *kua-a-hi* scripts filled this gap. Therefore, linguistic nativization did not simply mean replacing language for comprehension; it further meant to create linguistic enjoyment, and this linguistic enjoyment was especially exclusive to native speakers.

2. Using the vernacular and colloquial language

In the Quanzhou scripts, the lines of high officials were in literary Chinese. By contrast, in the *kua-a-hi* scripts, these kinds of roles are all spoken in the vernacular. The Quanzhou scripts have still preserved many literary Chinese usages, especially in the arias that display emotion or affection. For example, in the scene "Escorted" in *Tân Sann,* the lyrics to the farewell of Tân Sann and Gōo-niû at the end are in literary Chinese, especially in a form of poetry. The aria lyrics in Quanzhou scripts were usually in this form. Clearly, Quanzhou theatre still followed the tradition of *qu* 曲 (arias):

> Drink this cup of wine for farewell. It is so miserable. This meeting is full of grief of parting. I serve wine to you. It's not the wine that intoxicates. It's not the wine

that intoxicates, but the drinker himself who gets drunk. Look at your figure, like a fallen leaf blown by the wind. We, a pair of beautiful lovebirds, are separated and isolated from our group. Gazing at each other, we cannot remain calm in our hearts. We are unfortunate for life. But we have nowhere to cry.

飲別杯酒真慘切。相晤別緒，餞酒奉君。酒不醉人，酒不醉人，乃是人自醉。看君身好比落葉風送。咱一對錦鴛鴦來拆離群，兩相看亂方寸。終身命怯，那是哭無門。[91]

To leave my jade-like gentleman, it is so sorrowful. My heartfelt affection makes me head over heels. There is only a short while for me not to feel that my oppressiveness grow unceasingly in my worried heart. Now I know there is this kind of sudden calamity today. How do I endure it? Don't you see? Today my jade-like gentleman is likely to be blown by the wind. He, a lonely figure, is like a catkin swayed by the wind. He is also like an isolated wild goose losing its group. From now on, his figure is like a wet, decaying, fallen flower. I think about him here. I can't see him. My line of vision is cut off, and I am overwhelmed with sorrow. It is in vain that I turn back after moving just a step here. My line of vision is cut off by fortresses, mountains and clouds. My eyes brim with tears. My eyes are dripping with tears. Ai! It is true that we miss each other in two places, like isolated wild geese losing their groups. Lord of heaven! Please do bless and protect my dear Sann! Help him to meet his brother and therefore he can return his hometown again.

一別玉郎真慘傷，切切得咱顛顛倒倒。咱一時不覺愁懷頻添悶，即知今日有只飛禍何消忍。不見今日玉郎如風送，伊一身好似柳絮被風飄搖。又親像許孤雁離群，從此去伊身好是濕敗落花。咱只處爲伊細詳，望不見眼斷消魂。

[91] Cai Youben, *Tân Sann* 陳三, p. 482.

枉咱只處一步回首，望斷關山白雲，眼淚汪汪，兩眼淚淋灕。噯，真個兩地相思，孤雁斷群。天，你千萬保庇咱厝三哥，路上早見伊哥，會得重歸故里。[92]

In the above lyrics, we find many metaphors and similes, such as "jade-like gentleman" (玉郎), "a catkin swayed by the wind" (柳絮被風飄搖), "an isolated wild goose losing its group" (孤雁離群), "a wet, decaying, fallen flower" (濕敗落花), "a fallen leaf wafted by the wind" (落葉風送), "beautiful lovebirds are separated and isolated from our group" (錦鴛鴦來拆離群). These kinds of lyrics are part of a Chinese classical theatre lyrical tradition – arias are poetry rather than colloquialisms. Instead, in the *kua-a-hi* scripts, although the form of arias was fixed at seven syllables in a sentence, and usually four sentences in an aria, the linguistic style was in the vernacular and colloquial, rather than poetic. For example, the following are also arias for the farewell at the end of "Tân Sann was banished to penal servitude" in the *kua-a-hi* script:

It is chaotic on Tân Sann's departure. The maid and the lady see him off at the wharf. It is near the time to set sail. It is much more tragic than cutting a throat with a knife.
陳三起程亂抄抄，孀娘送哥到船頭。開船時刻治卜到，恰慘用刀卜割喉。[93]

The lady and the maid are separated from me. I bid farewell to thousands of mountains and ten thousand *li* long of clouds. A souvenir is given to me as a memento. When I see the souvenir, it is like to see you.

[92] Ibid., p. 483.
[93] Lyric card, Regal T1059, *Tân Sann tshiong-kun,* p. 2.

娘嫺恰我拆離分，告別千山萬里雲。一幅文章來送阮，見書可比見著君。[94]

The three people have no choice but to separate. Tân Sann gazes at the lady and the lady gazes at Sann. Dear Sann, don't worry after leaving. I will persuade the lady not to miss Sann too much.

三人分開無奈何，陳三看娘娘看哥。三哥只去免煩惱，勸娘不可思三哥。[95]

The lyrics of *kua-a-hi* are much shorter and rather colloquial. The description is overall simpler than the lyrics of Quanzhou scripts. There are not many metaphors, even the metaphors, such as "more tragic than cutting a throat with a knife" (恰慘用刀卜割喉) or "when I see the souvenir, it is like to see you" (見書可比見著君), are more plain and direct than those in the lyrics of Quanzhou scripts.

In addition to the lyrics, sometimes lines are also written in literary Chinese in the Quanzhou scripts. For example, the lines of Tân Sann and Gōo-niû for the farewell are the following:

Gōo-niû: You leave because of me. My heart has nothing to repay. I eloped with you. I will bear the disgrace for you. Hopefully you will meet your brother on the journey, and then I need not to worry about you. Then I can die without regret.

君此行爲妾故也，妾心無以爲報，與君恁情奔，替君羞恥，途中遇著你兄免阮掛念，妾死無恨矣！[96]

Tân Sann: I will endure the journey to Yaizhou by myself. As for you, the west wind

[94] Ibid., p. 3.
[95] Ibid.
[96] Cai Youben, loc.cit.

is very stiff. Do take care of yourself and don't worry about me.

崖州之行，我自任之，那你者，西風多厲，千萬自重，不必以我爲念。[97]

In comparison, the farewell lines of Tân Sann and Gōo-niû in the *kua-a-hi* script are the following:

Tân Sann: Consider my banishment so far away. It is unknown whether I will survive or die. If I survive, I will return home and be reunited with you. If I die, you, lady and maid, are young. Remarry in another country or neighbourhood, in order to carry on my family name. Never marry him, a dog, big nose Lîm!

思我充軍前去，不知生死。那是有命，回家團圓。若是死，汝娘嫺青春年紀，再嫁他鄉外里，傳我後祠。千萬不通嫁伊，狗子林大鼻！[98]

Gōo-niû: Aiya! Dear Sann! You devote your heart, therefore I will act with righteousness. Hopefully, the gods will support you after you leave. May the sun, moon and stars would bless you. Bear the prison term and then return to your hometown early. Let us be reunited as a couple. Then dying-early big nose Lîm will be arrested and his dead body will be shredded by chopping ten thousands times. Only this will release the anger that fills up all my stomach! But if you return to your hometown late, we, lady and maid, will preserve our chastity for you willingly!

噯呀三哥！汝盡心，阮有盡義。望哥只去神明扶持，三光保庇。忍耐刑期，早回故里，夫妻團圓。捉掠早死大鼻，萬刀碎屍，消咱滿腹恨氣！

[97] Ibid.
[98] Lyric card, Regal T1059, *Tân Sann tshiong-kun,* p. 2.

若是三哥慢返鄉里，阮娘嫺甘願共哥守了節義！[99]

These kinds of lines in the *kua-a-hi* scripts were already the most "refined" style. However, they still more colloquial. Using colloquial Taiwanese, instead of literary Chinese, obviously corresponds to the decline of literary Chinese in this period, as the previous section indicated. Moreover, using literary Chinese might be like using Mandarin, against the idea of reform.

Using vernacular further makes the linguistic style of *kua-a-hi* more direct, simple and easy to understand. Comparing the lines of roles in the *kua-a-hi* script and those of the Quanzhou scripts, we can see that the linguistic style of *kua-a-hi* is quite straightforward, while in the Quanzhou scripts, characters' feelings are often expressed in an implied, concealed or repressed way. This characteristic of *kua-a-hi* is shown in every role, whatever the social status. For example, the lines of the Prefect:

Disturb your mother! You bothered me, your lord. What power and prestige are you showing by shouting?
抄恁媽！驚動本公，吪什麼威風？[100]

Although in the Quanzhou scripts, the Prefect is also a comic role, he does not speak this kind of language.

Iah-tshun in the *kua-a-hi* script is much more bold and vigorous than the same role in the *tshit-tsu-pan* script. The example has been mentioned previously:

[99] Ibid., p. 3.
[100] Lyric card, Regal T1019, *Sím Tân Sann*, p. 1.

> You dying-young and short-lived people! How can you laugh? How many people do not have a worn-out straw mat in their living room? Who are never flirtatious at their young age? Watch your older and younger sisters. You "housekeepers" need not meddle in other families' affairs!

It is her reply to passers-by when she, Gōo-niû, and Tân Sann are caught, and passers-by are commenting on the event. In the *tshit-tsu-pan* script, Iah-tshun, do not speak in this way.

Then when Tân Sann was tortured, his lyrics and lines are:

> Tân Sann is beaten and my fury is heading up to the sky. The straw bag Prefect is fed with money by someone. Once my brother returns to the hometown from southern Guangdong, I think your dog head will be thrown to the sky.
> 陳三被打氣沖天，草包知府食人錢。我兄廣南返鄉里，思你狗頭飛半天。[101]

The expression is quite straightforward and strong, as with the previously cited lines of this role, such as: "Bold Prefect Li! As an officer, you are greedy and take bribes," or "if you are unable to hurt me to death, you had better be careful and aware!" By contrast, in the Quanzhou script, although Tân Sann also protested, the expression is more tactful.

The use of language of the female lead, Gōo-niû, is similar. In the *kua-a-hi* script, she criticizes the Prefect:

[101] Lyric card, Regal T1021, *Sím Tân Sann*, p. 2.

Early-dying Lîm Tāi did evil, bribing the dark officer, Lí Tik-sing. You desire money, taking bribes and confusing justice and injustice. You do not judge fairly and show bias towards one side.

早死林大做僥倖，買足烏官李德生。貪財受佑亦倒炳，並無照公倚歸平。[102]

In the *tshit-tsu-pan* script, Gōo-niû and Iah-tshun only scold Lin Da, the villain in the story. They never say anything about the Prefect. But in the *kua-a-hi* script, both criticize the Prefect directly. Iah-tshun says:

Iah-tshun is unwilling, scolds the Prefect. You greedy officer will become an ox after dying. Short-lived Lîm Tāi is happy about the judgement. Your body will be dragged by a dog and eaten by white ants after dying.

益春不願罵知府，貪官死了著做牛。短命林大開心事，死乎狗拖白蟻蛀。[103]

The above lines or lyrics reflect the contemporary linguistic style of Taiwanese people in the early 20th century, instead of reflecting different social behaviours of the roles in the story. We can imagine that these lines are quite similar to the phrasing and expression used in arguments among people at that time. The linguistic style of the *kua-a-hi* could be considered "vulgar," compared to Quanzhou scripts. But the use of colloquialisms matches the idea of "reform." It shows again that linguistic nativization was not only to change sounds or vocabularies, but to create a new linguistic style, as well as to exhibit a new linguistic taste.

[102] Lyric card, Regal T1059, *Tân Sann tshiong-kun,* p. 2.
[103] Ibid.

3. Modern characteristic: a stronger narrative style

As the previous chapter indicates, abandoning the traditional symbolism was an important development in this era. In terms of the language in the scripts, *kua-a-hi* shows that it was abandoning the lyrical tradition. Both narrative style and realism were the crucial characteristics of modern theatre. A comparison between the lyrics of the Quanzhou scripts and of *kua-a-hi* also reveals that the *kua-a-hi* lyrics possess a stronger narrative style. For example, the farewell arias in the Quanzhou scripts and *kua-a-hi* scripts. The lyrics of the Quanzhou scripts include more descriptions of "feeling" than "action." The descriptions of actions are these: drinking, toasting, gazing at each other, parting, taking a step and looking back. The expression of feelings or emotions, instead of events, is a typical characteristic of *tshit-tsu-pan* arias or *lam-kuan* songs. However, the much shorter lyrics of *kua-a-hi* includes more descriptions of the actions of roles: setting out, seeing off, arriving at the port, setting sail, bidding farewell, giving the letter, seeing the letter, parting, looking at and comforting.

Although it is a common impression of the Japanese colonial period that the main body of *kua-a-hi* is romantic plays, compared with the strong lyrical style of *tshit-tsu-pan* or *lam-kuan* arias, *kua-a-hi* lyrics put obviously more emphasis on narrative. Another notable example is the Columbia recording of *Tsiu Sîng Sailed for Taiwan* (*Tsiu Sîng kuè Taiwan* 周成過臺灣). This series included 18 records, and only the arias were recorded. It was not *liam kua-a* because the label on the records clearly states "*kua-a-hi*."[104] This series of recordings lack spoken lines, but the plot is still very clear for listeners to understand. The reason is that the events and actions are

[104] For more information about the records, please refer to Fukuoka et al, op.cit., p. 102, serial numbers: コロムビア 80199-A~80201-B; pp. 25-26, serial numbers: 黑リーガル T149-A~T154-B.

all narrated in the lyrics. This strong narrative style originates from *liam kua-a*, in which a storyteller would not only tell stories, but often sing stories as well. Meanwhile, it was also influenced by the realist aesthetic and modern theatre, in which narrative is emphasized much more than in traditional theatre. *Kua-a-hi* before the war was therefore more narrative theatre rather than lyric theatre.

The above linguistic characteristics of *kua-a-hi* reflect that the linguistic Taiwanization in classical theatre during the 1920s to 1930s implied an abandoning of the traditional and orthodox forms. The Quanzhou the style of language was no longer followed. The use of literary Chinese significantly decreased. The contrast between "Mandarin" and "dialect" was eliminated. Dispensing with Mandarin lines reflected the dissatisfaction with *lan-than* at that time. The difference in linguistic style between the different social statuses of previous times was removed as well. Whatever roles, their language was more similar to the contemporary vernacular and colloquialism of that era. Therefore, linguistic Taiwanization meant that the language of the public had become a new standard for theatre, and original diversity in theatrical language was dying out.

Conclusion

To summarize, from about the mid-17th century, people in southern Fujian and eastern Guangdong gradually immigrated to Taiwan. Their original mother tongue gradually changed and was finally Taiwanized. By the colonial period, the original southern *Hokkien* and *Hakka* had developed Taiwanese linguistic characteristics. Along with the qualitative change, a new concept of *Tai-gi* was created. Classical theatre in Taiwan also experienced linguistic Taiwanization, different from what it had been

before, and contributing to the emerging Taiwanese classical theatre.

Both *Tai-gi* and theatre reform were modern concepts. Using *Tai-gi* for performances implied a reformed form. Taiwanese reformed theatre directly adopted *Tai-gi*, to underline its modernity. Therefore, it finally took the place of Mandarin theatre, especially *lan-than*, to become the representative form of classical theatre in Taiwan.

In another respect, the meaning of "*peh-li*" gradually differed from that of the Quanzhou tradition and was connected with the idea of reform, further forming a new concept of Taiwanese *peh-li*. Vernacularization was also a significant trend in this period, and Taiwanese classical theatre also responded to it. These new concepts were not only expressed or were argued over in all kinds of discourses during the colonial period, all of them were present in the scripts of Taiwanese reformed theatre. Therefore, linguistic Taiwanization in theatre was both conceptual and qualitative change. It was a "reformed characteristic" in a Taiwanese context, and was a crucial part in the formation of Taiwanese classical theatre.

Chapter Five

The Formation of Taiwanese Themes in Taiwanese Classical Theatre

Responding to the demand for Taiwanese realism, *Taiwan-gi* was gradually adopted by Taiwanese classical theatre. However, it was not enough. In addition to speaking *Taiwan-gi*, playing Taiwanese stories was another necessary factor to form Taiwanese realism. As Chapter Four shows, the use of *Taiwan-gi* on stage did not happen naturally. So when and how Taiwanese themes appeared on stage are also important questions. Did Taiwanese themes emerge within a colonial context, as with *Taiwan-gi*? Are they modern creations as well? This chapter will suggest answers to these questions.

I. Theatrical plays in Taiwan before 1895

There are no specific records of theatrical plays in sources from Dutch rule to Qing rule as to theatrical themes. There are only a few clues, which existing sources show:

1. 1720 and 1764: plays about the underworld

   Both *Taiwan xianzhi* 臺灣縣志 (A Gazetteer of Taiwan County) of 1720 and *Chongxiu Fengshan xianzhi* 重修鳳山縣志 (A New Edition of the Fengshan County Gazette) of 1764 recorded that, at funerals, the plot of breaking down the door to the underworld was performed. This kind of performance was a part of the religious rites and it therefore might not have been performed on stage.[1]

2. 1769: *A Predestined Affinity with Peach Blossoms*

[1] Chang Chi-Feng, "Qingdai xiqu shiliao," pp. 278; 292.

Zhu Jingying's poem, Dongye Nanyuan tongren guanyan zhuozhi *Taohuayuan* chuanqi 冬夜南園同人觀演拙製桃花緣傳奇 (A Winter Evening in Southern Garden, Colleagues Watched My Composition of *Chuanqi*, *A Predestined Affinity with Peach Blossoms*),[2] was turned into a script for his private troupe. It was based on a story, *Renmian taohua* 人面桃花 (Peach Blossoms and a Lady's Cheeks) from a Tang poet, Cui Hu 崔護 (fl. 790s-830s). In 1769, when Zhu was in Taiwan, his troupe played it.[3]

3. 1806: Guan Yu plays

   Chen Zhaochang 陳肇昌 (fl. 1800s-1820s) wrote the poem, *Zeng Woqing di Bingyin nian cheng jin banzhuang Wusheng shenxiang* 贈握卿弟丙寅年呈禁扮粧武聖神像 (To My Friend, Woqing: Petitioning to Ban the Staging of the Martial God, in the year of *Bingyin*). The Martial God is Guan Yu 關羽 (160-220), a general during the period of Three Kingdoms era (184-280) who has since become deified. The poem criticizes the view that the performance of plays about Guan Yu is harmful to society's morals.[4]

4. 1819: *A Meeting along the River*

   An inscription entitled *Wu xie* 勿褻 (Do Not Blaspheme) describes that *Linjiang hui* 臨江會 (A Meeting along the River) of the *Sanguo yanyi* 三國演義 (Three Kingdoms History) was played near a shop behind the Great Matsu Temple in Tainan. It is also a play about Guan Yu.[5]

5. 1852: monkey plays

   Liu Jiamou 劉家謀 (1814-1853) wrote a poem a funeral in Taiwan in the *Haiyin shi* 海音詩 (The Poetry of Sea Sounds) series. He describes a funeral play

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[2] Ibid., pp. 309-310.
[3] For an introduction to this play, see Chang Chi-Feng, "Qingdai Taiwan xiqu," pp. 68-71.
[4] Chang Chi-Feng, "Qingdai xiqu shiliao," p. 343.
[5] Ibid., pp. 324-325.

performed by monkeys (*houxi* 猴戲).[6] This kind of custom originates from Quanzhou, where similar historical references are also found. In Quanzhou, this kind of performance turned into a special theatrical genre, *dacheng* theatre (*dachengxi* 打城戲), in the early 20th century.[7] *Dacheng* means to break down the door to the underworld. The most typical characteristic of *dacheng* theatre is the play Sun Wukong 孫悟空, the well-known monkey deity in *Xiyou ji* 西遊記 (Journey to the West). The description of Liu Jiamou seems to be more like real monkeys, but the staging of the monkey deity, Sun Wukong, is also possible.

6. 1884: *A Swaying Boat on the Lake*

   Lin Shu 林紓 (1852-1924) wrote an article: "Ji Jiashen Majiang Jilong zhi bai" 記甲申馬江基隆之敗 (A Record about Majiang's Defeat in Keelung in the year of *Jiashen*). He describes that, during the Sino-French War in 1884, a Taiwanese player, Zhang Ahuo 張阿火 (1842-1894), participated in the battle at Keelung. The writer once watched his play, *Dang hu chuan* 盪湖船 (A Swaying Boat on the Lake).[8]

7. 1893: *A Tale of Lychees and a Mirror*

   Penghu tingzhi 澎湖廳志 (The Gazetteer of the Penghu Subprefecture) recoded a popular play of *tshit-tsu-pan*: *Lijing ji* 荔鏡記 (A Tale of Lychees and a Mirror).[9]

8. 1894: plays about the underworld

   An-ping-kuan tsap-ki describes how, every year, during the *ullambana* festival, official departments would arrange a play about the underworld.[10]

9. The late 19th century: plays about revolution, moving up the social ladder, as well

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[6] Ibid., p. 348.
[7] *Zhongguo xiquzhi Fujian juan*, pp. 93-95.
[8] Chang Chi-Feng, "Qingdai xiqu shiliao," p. 400.
[9] The source is "Pengdi yanju" 澎地演劇 (Theatre in Penghu), in Chapter Nine, "Fengsu, Fengshang" 風俗，風尚 (Vogue, Custom) of *Penghuting zhi*. The book is now collected in *Taiwan wenxian congkan*.
[10] Chang Chi-Feng, "Qingdai xiqu shiliao," p. 366.

as *Three Kingdoms' History*

A poet, Huang Chunqing 黃純青 (1875-1956), who lived in the late Qing rule and through the Japanese colonial period, wrote a series of poems and articles recalling his youth under Qing rule. He describes the frequently performed plays as being: revolutions at the end of a dynasty, *Three Kingdoms' History*, promotion of officials at court, and being designated Principal Graduate in the imperial examination.[11]

The significance of Taiwanese themes on Taiwanese stage is that, in the historical records of theatre from 1685 until the end of Qing rule in 1895, one can hardly find "Taiwanese themes." Although Chinese theatre forms spread to Taiwan and gradually became native theatre in Taiwan, and local troupes and players were developed, there is no indication that local troupes developed local themes.

According to standard accounts of the formation of traditional Chinese theatre, local theatre was formed when it used local language and developed its own music. Local themes are not a crucial factor. Taking traditional theatre in Quanzhou as an example, *shanglu*, *xia'nan*, *xiaoliyuan* and string puppetry, developed over a long period of time. However, Quanzhou themes are not the most important characteristic. Since it is not necessary for local troupes to perform local subjects, the occurrence of Taiwanese themes is under particular circumstances.

II. Taiwan became a theatrical theme for the first time

As Chapter Three mentions, when modern theatre troupes went to Taiwan with the

[11] Ibid., pp. 403-406.

Japanese army and officers at the beginning of colonization, they begun to obtain Taiwanese themes for composing plays. News from *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* was their source. It was very similar to how modern theatre had started to develop in Japan, when troupes would obtain themes from *Tokyo nichinichi shinbun*, as Chapter Three describes. In fact, the creation of Taiwanese themes is impossible to separate from Japanese modern theatre. In addition to the case above, the great dramatist of modern theatre, Kawakami Otojirō, also tried to compose Taiwanese themes according to newspapers when colonization began. In 1896, Kawakami Otojirō produced *Taiwan oni taiji* 臺灣鬼退治 (Exterminating Taiwanese Ghosts). The content was the Japanese army's fight with the "rioters" and "barbarians" in Taiwan. It reflected Taiwanese news in Tokyo newspapers.[12] At that time, the Japanese army was still suppressing armed revolts in Taiwan. This production, undoubtedly, like the other war plays of Kawakami, functioned as a commentary on the Japanese conquest of Taiwan. It naturally belongs to the emerging war theme in theatre and film, part of the discourse on the power of a rising empire.

After taking advantage of information from newspapers, Kawakami decided to collect first hand information. He visited Taiwan in 1902, and visited the islands of Taiwan and Penghu, searching for material for his new play, "*Osero*" オセロ, a new Japanese version of Shakespeare's *Othello.*[13] This work was played during 1903, in Tokyo. The story was set in Taiwan. The meaning of "Taiwan" here included Penghu. When planning to produce *Osero*, Kawakami invented a concept of "*seigeki*" first, and then produced *Osero* to substantiate the concept.[14] Kawakami especially chose the image of Taiwan as the scene of this first *seigeki* work. It might have inspired Takamatsu

[12] This play is discovered by Inoue Yoshie 井上理恵. See Inoue, "Kawakami no engeki," pp. 69-71.
[13] It is not the first time that *Othello* was adapted in Japan.
[14] Kawatake Shigetoshi, *Riben yanjushi*, p. 309.

Toyojirō to name his theatre "Taiwan *seigeki*."

In 1911, Kawakami and his troupe were invited to Taiwan again by Takamatsu. During this visit, he heard of serious conflicts between the Japanese authorities and the aborigines in mountain areas. Once back in Japan, he immediately produced *Seiban tōbatsu* 生蕃討伐 (Conquering the Barbarians).

Kawakami observed and recorded Taiwanese things, which included taking photos, as theatrical materials. It was as though he would enter a war zone to observe the reality of war for his war plays. He displayed a strong Japanese characteristic of that era, a desire to survey Taiwan, which was a new territory and a world full of potential. Undoubtedly, this desire was aroused with the expansion of the empire.

Whether *Exterminating Taiwanese Ghosts* was performed in Taiwan is not clear. Kawakami died less than four months after *Conquering the Barbarians* was played. Therefore this play did not have an opportunity to appear on stage in Taiwan. Only *Osero* left clear performance records in Taiwan. Overall, however, these early plays with Taiwanese themes were not created for Taiwanese audiences. The creation was either the result of an exotic imagination or a boast of imperial feats.

Takamatsu was the first producer who created Taiwanese themes especially for Taiwanese audiences. During the colonial period, all kinds of performing arts, including traditional and modern types of theatre, came to Taiwan from Japan. These troupes did not especially serve local audiences. In contrast, when Takamatsu arranged a troupe in Taiwan, his operational policy was definite. He said that his production would "show Taiwanese people on stage, use *Taiwango*, and adapt

Taiwanese facts and events" (臺灣人が舞臺に現はれ臺灣語で臺灣に在つた事實や出來事を腳色して觀せた)[15]. Takamatsu found a new path for himself. He organized his troupe in Taiwan, and trained Taiwanese people to be players. He adopted Taiwanese themes and *Taiwan-gi*. Briefly speaking, compared to other Japanese troupes, who were originally imported from Japan, Takamatsu highlighted that his troupe as being "made in Taiwan," and the ambition was to serve the local population.

As I pointed out in Chapter Three, Kawakami and Takamatsu's works were called reformed theatre in Taiwan. Hence, Taiwanese themes were further connected with the concept of theatre reform. The use of Taiwanese themes was also a characteristic of reformed theatre. In another respect, Takamatsu's aspiration shows that he was defining a "Taiwanese theme." It coincided with Japanese efforts to define "Taiwanese classical theatre" and "*Taiwango*" at this time.

According to Shih's research, from 1909 to 1919, Takamatsu produced more than 33 plays. In these plays, only three were Chinese subjects, others were all subjects of Taiwan.[16] Among the Taiwanese subjects, *Khó-liân tsi tsòng-ting* 可憐之壯丁 (An Unfortunate Able-Bodied Man) of 1910 and *Bô-tsîng tsi hūn* (*Tsiu Sîng kuè Taiwan*) 無情之恨（周成過台灣） (The Hate for Ruthlessness [Tsiu Sîng Sailed for Taiwan]) of 1911 were adopted by native troupes in the 1920s and the 1930s.

III. Taiwanese themes played by Chinese troupes

[15] In his article, "Goraku kyōkyū ni kansuru yo no hōfu" 娛樂供給に關する予の抱負 (My Aspiration to Provide Entertainment) in *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* on 16th May, 1909, p. 5. There is no punctuation in the original text.
[16] Shih, op.cit., pp. 207-212.

Taiwanese themes also appeared in Chinese theatre reform. In 1899, a *haipai* troupe, Tianbao Chayuan 天寶茶園 (Tianbao Teahouse),[17] produced *Liu dajiangjun ping shengfan* 劉大將軍平生蕃 (The Great General Liu Conquered the Barbarians). "General Liu" refers to Liu Mingchuan, the first Qing Governor of Taiwan, who led troops into mountain areas to fight with aborigines several times. This play belonged to the series of "Hunan army plays" (湘軍戲) in Shanghai.[18] This popular war theme in China is an interesting contrast with the war theme in Japan. While the Japanese war theme was mostly about wars with foreign countries, the Hunan army plays were all about civil wars. Regardless of the truth, the endings of these plays were always the Hunan army's victory, but these kinds of plays perhaps show the declining power of an old empire. In addition to non-stop rebellions, the formation of the Hunan army also revealed the weakening central authority of the Qing Empire, because the Hunan army was established and directly controlled by powerful courtiers, instead of the emperor. The emperor had to rely on this kind of army to suppress rebellions, while the central government's army was incapable of it. This situation was already different from the early Qing period. The emergence of the Hunan Army was also the root of the frequent civil wars among warlords after the Qing Empire was overthrown. By contrast, although there were civil war plays in Japan, such as the theme of the Southwest War, this rebellion was quelled by the central government's army rapidly. Therefore, this kind of play reflected the centralization of Meiji government.

The portrayal of Taiwanese in *The Great General Liu Conquered the Barbarians* was purely imaginative, because the producer had not been to Taiwan. This play was an occasional case in Shanghai. It was not brought to Taiwan, although Shanghai troupes

[17] In this period, theatres, which were usually called "teahouse," in Shanghai all had exclusive troupes.
[18] Lin Xing-Hui, op.cit., p. 242; 315.

came to Taiwan frequently until the mid-1920s.

In 1911, three years after Takamatsu's troupe, Chinese troupes invited to Taiwan began to play Taiwanese themes as well. On lst May, in Tainan, Sanqing troupe from Fuzhou played *Tainan qi'an* 台南奇案 (A Surprising Case in Tainan).[19] The reason was that their sailing back to China was delayed, so they prolonged their performance schedule for three more days, and during this prolonged schedule, the troupe first conducted this play. It attracted a lot of audiences. The story was that Shi Axi murdered his younger brother. It was later played during July, in Taipei, by another troupe, the Old Desheng Troupe (Lao Desheng Ban 老德勝班) from Shanghai.[20] A few days later, on 9th May, also in Tainan, another troupe, the New Fuliansheng Troupe (Xin Fuliansheng Ban 新福連陞班) played *Tainan daqi'an* 台南大奇案 (An Extremely Surprising Case in Tainan).[21] Because the previous reception was bad, the troupe in particular conducted this play. It was obviously affected by the success of Sanqing troupe, and the strategy did work. The theatre's box office receipts were more than twice as much as previous records. Therefore New Fuliansheng decided to play it once a week. The story was that Tân Siù-niû was murdered by her sister-in-law. On 23rd May, Sanqing troupe was in the newspapers again. The troupe was unable to go back to China because of debts to an agency. In order to pay the debt, Sanqing produced another two plays with Taiwanese themes.[22] The two plays were still cases in Tainan. One was the event between Su Acheng and Xiao Ruifang. The other was about the sexual assault of a monk, Chun, from Longwang Temple, and the sentence on him. In spite of the rain, it still attracted many audiences to the theatre.

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[19] It was reported in *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō,* May 10, 1911, p. 1.
[20] Reported in *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō,* July 2, 1911, p. 3.
[21] Reported in *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō,* May 17, 1911, p. 3.
[22] Reported in *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō,* May 23, 1911, p. 3.

Hsu Ya-Hsiang supposed these productions were the result of suggestions by the theatre agency.[23] The performances were to fill a prolonged schedule or to resolve financial crises, therefore they were temporary productions. The most convenient way to obtain theatrical themes was adapting local events or legends; moreover, it would be efficient to appeal to local audiences. Therefore four plays were all set in Tainan, since the two troupes performed there, and the outcome proved to be effective. Tân Siù-niû's play was adopted by local troupes no later than the 1930s.

In the next year, 1912, a combined troupe from Jinfulian 金福連 and New Fuliansheng produced a new play: *Tainan lintouzi qi'an* 臺南林投姊奇案 (Madam Pandanus, A Surprising Case in Tainan) on 23rd June, at Tā m-tsuí Theatre in Tuā-tiū-tiânn.[24] The story was recorded in the colonial period and became famous in the post-war period. Obviously, this was due to the successful experience of New Fuliansheng in 1911. This play had more important influence. Later in the 1920s, it became the first Taiwanese play performed by local troupes, and further became a canonical Taiwanese play. Then in 1923, the Old Saile (Jiu Saile 舊賽樂) troupe, from Fuzhou played *Gan Guobao* 甘國寶 (Gan Guobao),[25] which also affected Taiwanese troupes. (This name is pronounced *Kam Kok-pó* in *Tai-gi*)

Taiwanese subjects played by Chinese troupes are undoubtedly an imitation of the series of "surprising case," which was in vogue between the 1900s and the 1920s. As Chapter Three points out, "surprising case" was exactly the product of theatre reform

[23] Hsu, *Rizhi shiqi Zhongguo xiban*, p. 155.
[24] It was reported in *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō,* June 23, 1912, p. 6.
[25] There are 11 reports about the play in *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* and *Tainan shinpō* in 1923. See *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō,* Feb 03, p. 6; Feb 07, p. 6; July 01, p. 6; July 02, p. 4; July 03, p. 6; July 04, p. 6. *Tainan shinpō,* Mar 04, p. 5; Mar 05, p. 5; Mar 06, p. 5; May 09, p. 5; May 10, p. 5.

in China. Therefore, after *The Great General Liu Conquered the Barbarians,* Taiwanese themes were connected with Chinese theatre reform again. This type apparently affected native troupes. Later, many famous Taiwanese plays were named in the same way: *Madam Pandanus, a Surprising Case in Tainan, Taipei kî-àn* 臺北奇案 (A Surprising Case in Taipei)*, A Surprising Case along Tainan Canal* and *Changhua kî-àn* 彰化奇案 (A Surprising Case in Changhua) are clear examples.

IV. The formation of Taiwanese themes in Taiwanese classical theatre

As Hsu indicated, after watching many Chinese plays of current events, Taiwanese audiences began to ask Chinese troupes to play events in Taiwan as well.[26] It corresponded to the demand for "Taiwaneseness," which is discussed in the previous chapter. After Japanese and Chinese troupes produced Taiwanese themes, audiences would inevitably demand local troupes for Taiwanese themes as well.

In the 1920s, native troupes responded to the demand. According to newspapers, from 1922 to 1924, three native troupes began to play *Madam Pandanus*. The first was Tshing-lo̍k-hn̂g from Beitou (performance on the 20th March, 3rd May, 4th August, and 31st August, 1922).[27] The second was Kim-pó-hing from Tainan (performance on the 26th December, 1922; 27th July, 1923; and 17th June, 1924[28]).[29] The third was

[26] Hsu, *Rizhi shiqi Zhongguo xiban*, p. 154.
[27] The reports are all on p. 6 of *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō.* As Chapter Three shows, Tshing-lo̍k-hn̂g was originally a troupe of *peh-li-hi* of *lam-kuan*, but later it turned into a *kua-a-hi* troupe.
[28] The original report in *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* only indicates that a Beijing opera troupe (*tsia̍nn-im pan* 正音班) performed in Íng-lo̍k Theatre. But according to a flier and another report in *Tainan shinpō*, Kim-pó-hing played in Íng-lo̍k Theatre from 10th June until the end of the month, and Kim-pó-hing certainly played Beijing opera. Therefore this Beijing opera troupe which played *Madam Pandanus* should be Kim-pó-hing. The flier is collected into Lü Su-Shang, op.cit., p. 207. The report of *Tainan shinpō* is on 9th June, 1924, p. 5.
[29] With the exception of the report in 1924, both of the other two are on page 5 of *Tainan shinpō.* As

Sin-kiat-sing from Hsinchu (performing on the 7th and 19th November, 1923).[30]

Then in 1925, Ueyama recorded two plays by local troupe with Taiwanese themes in "Taiwan geki ni tsuisuru kōsatsu." One was *Madam Pandanus*. Obviously, *Madam Pandanus* had become a popular play. The other was *A Surprising Case in Taipei* (*Taipei kî-àn* 臺北奇案). *A Surprising Case in Taipei* is *The Hate of Ruthlessness (Tsiu Sîng Sailed for Taiwan).*[31] In 1927, *Taiwan ni okeru Shina engeki kyū Taiwan engekichō* directly cites the record of Ueyama.[32] In addition to these two plays, no more Taiwanese themes by native troupes were recorded in the surviving sources for the 1920s. It is conceivable that the 1920s is the initiation stage for native troupes to form Taiwanese themes.

Between 1936 and 1937, Tōhō recorded 10 plays with Taiwanese themes by native classical theatre in his article "*Taiwan shūzoku*・Taiwan no engeki."[33] These plays are:

Tei Seikō kai Taiwan 鄭成功開台灣 (Zheng Chenggong/Tēnn Sîng-kong Opened up Taiwan)

Kan Kokuhō ka Taiwan 甘國寶過臺灣 (Gan Guobao/Kam Kok-pó Sailed for Taiwan)

Tainan unka kian 臺南運河奇案 (A Surprising Case along Tainan Canal)

Fukyū bukyō taiten 父仇不共戴天 (Impossible to Stand below the Same Sky with Father's Murderer)

Tainan kian Rintō Shi 臺南奇案林投姊 (Madam Pandanus, a Surprising Case in

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Chapter Three shows, Kim-pó-hing was originally a *peh-li-hi* troupe of *lam-kuan*, but later it began to perform Beijing opera and then *kua-a-hi* as well.

[30] Both reports are on page 5 of *Tainan shinpō.* As Chapter Three shows, Sin-kiat-sing was a *kau-kah* troupe.

[31] Ueyama, op.cit., pp. 95-96.

[32] Tân Tsuân-íng, *Taiwan engekichō*, pp. 130; 132.

[33] Tōhō, "Taiwan no engeki [8]," pp. 19-22.

Tainan)

Jintō (Shi jin ba?) 人道(是人嗎?) (Human Morality [Is it a Human?])

Ōsai Sō 王仔嫂 (Madam Ông-á)

Ensai Sō no gōtō satsujin jiken 圓仔嫂の強盜殺人事件 (Madam Îînn-á, a Robbery and Murder Case)

Shōka kian 彰化奇案 (A Surprising Case in Changhua)

Karennaru sōtei 可憐なる壯丁 (An Unfortunate Able-Bodied Man)

Tōhō especially explains that the native plays were performed by *kua-a-hi* and *peh-li-hi* troupes.

Most of the plays on Taiwanese themes were produced by Taiwanese reformed theatre/Taiwanese opera troupes. Local troupes showed Taiwanese realism thoroughly. It combined *Taiwan-gi* and Taiwanese themes, both of which were Taiwanese characteristics in the theatre reform trend. Taiwanese themes, like *Taiwan-gi*, were viewed as a characteristic of reformed theatre. We could also call it a Taiwanese style of theatre reform. In another respect, this characteristic also corresponded with the broader East Asian context: theatre reform was an East Asian pursuit for a more realistic spirit which aimed to get closer to the life and daily languages of audiences. Since Taiwanese themes were connected with the idea of "reform," in the following section, I will focus on plays with Taiwanese themes. It will further show what the "reformed characteristics" were in that era.

V. Plays with Taiwanese themes

In this section, I will introduce the existing records and scripts with Taiwanese themes. First, I will cite the summaries of Ueyama and Tōhō, in order to show the plots. Then

I will introduce the relevant backgrounds. Second, I will introduce the Columbia recordings of plays. After that, I will analyse all of these plays.

1. The plays described by Ueyama and Tōhō

1) The story set before Qing rule

There is only one play set in the time before Qing rule, *Tēnn Sîng-kong Opened up Taiwan.*

Tēnn Sîng-kong Opened up Taiwan

The summary of Tōhō is as follows:

> The Qing Emperor Shunzhi (r. 1644-1661) conquers the Ming Empire. The Provincial Governor of Jiangxi province, Tsu Giȯk-phik, secretly plans to revive the Ming Empire, but the plan is discovered by Qing Empire. Prince Puè-lik' troops defeat him. Emperor Longwu (r. 1645-1649) of the [Southern] Ming orders Tēnn Sîng-kong to recruit solders in Fujian. However Prince Puè-lik and Âng Sîng-tiû attack and seize the Pinglong Pass and Jianyang. The Emperor Longwu has nowhere to escape; as a result, he dives into a river to commit suicide. Sîng-kong's father, Tēnn Tsi-liông, is bribed by Qing Empire and surrenders. Sîng-kong wants to find a place to plan for the revival of the Ming and escape to Penghu Island with his troops and waits for opportunities. After that, he (Sîng-kong), Tân Pà and Tân Khue-kî disguised themselves by changing clothes and sail to China. When they were plotting a conspiracy, a Qing agent, Tsiȯh-gû, arrests and jails Sîng-kong. However, he is rescued by Tân Pà and Tân Khue-kî and then escapes back to Penghu.

After that, Shunzhi Emperor sent a diplomatic communication to Penghu, in order to persuade Sîng-kong to surrender. Sîng-kong cut the diplomatic communication and prepares for military operations and seeks several foreign made cannons. Then he leads an army across the sea to attack Jiangdong. He subdues Lâu Kok-hian and captures Jiangdong Pass. He further approaches Zhangzhou; after winning a series of victories, he occupies Fuzhou Pass.

(This part needs three days to perform, and from here, a further three days are needed to complete the play. The army sails to Penghu, occupies Tainan, and finally conquers the whole of Taiwan, pacifying the people there. This part of history is well known, therefore I will be brief in my summary.)
明朝末、清の順治王の爲め明朝を覆沒せられたのを、江西省の巡撫朱玉碧が祕かに明朝の復辟を謀つて居るのを、清朝の爲に發覺され、貝力王の軍に敗慘の憂目を見た。

明の隆武王が、鄭成功に命じて福建に義兵を募らせたが、清の貝力王や洪承疇に攻められて、平龍關も建陽も陷落して、遂に逃路を失ひ、隆武王は河中に投じて死んで仕舞つた。然るに成功の父芝龍は、清朝に買收されて投降したが、成功は何處までも明朝の再興を謀り、舊部下を率いて澎湖島に走り、時機の到るを待つて居たが、或る時、陳豹、陳魁奇等と共に、變裝して支那に渡り、所所に謀議中、清朝の廻し者石牛に捕はれ監禁されたが、陳豹、陳魁奇に救はれて澎湖島に逃げ歸つて來た。其の後清の順治王が、謝表なる者を澎湖に遣はして、鄭成功に降服を勸告したが、成功は謝表を斬り捨てて仕舞つた。斯くする中、成功の旗擧げの準備も整つたので、更に外國製の砲數門を求めて、大軍を率い海を渡つて江東を攻め、劉國軒を降服せしめ、江東關を手に入れ、更に漳城に迫り、連戰連捷して遂に福州關をも陷落させた。

（此處までが三日間の上演分である。これから尚三日間を要して、更に澎湖島に渡り、臺南を陷れ、遂に全臺を平定して民を安んずるので、隨分長いものであるが 以下は史實に於てあまりに多く知られて居ることであるから略する。）[34]

The later part of Tēnn's track to Taiwan seems to be a metaphor for the same conquering process of the Japanese. It might be a coincidence, but it also happened in the context of the Japanese colonization. Tēnn's war in China also reflects the Japanese in China and the (First) Sino-Japanese war, 1894-95.

As Tōhō left out the plot in Taiwan, Japanese readers were likely to be familiar with the history or legend of Tēnn Sîng-kong. In fact, there is a famous *kabuki* play: *Kokusenya katsusen* 國性爺合戰 (Koxinga's Battles),[35] in which Tēnn is the main character. In the colonial period, Japanese government would particularly praise Tēnn and emphasize his Japanese blood. This hero led a wave of immigration to Taiwan[36] and was broadly venerated by people in Taiwan. Many Taiwanese believe that their ancestors came with Tēnn's army, although this has proven to be a myth, not a fact from historical sources. Tēnn Sîng-kong has both Japanese and Chinese ancestry, and therefore was a perfect symbol for the connection between Japan and Taiwan.[37]

There were four news articles about the play *Tēnn Sîng-kong* in March and April in 1925 in the *Tainan shinpō* and *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*. It was one of four plays in a performance organized by the authorities. The troupe was called the "Enlightening

[34] Ibid., pp. 19-20.
[35] The introduction and the script can be found in *Meisaku kabuki zenshū, daiik kan* 名作歌舞伎全集第一卷 (A Complete Collection of Kabuki Classics, volume one), pp. 57-90.
[36] Tai Pao-Tsun, *Jianming Taiwan shi*, pp. 76-77.
[37] Jiang Renjie, *Jiegou Zheng Chenggong,* pp. 68-69; 82-83.

Troupe" (Kyōka Gekidan 教化劇團), and the organizer was the "Sponsor Association for Enlightening Troupe" (Kyōka Gekidan Kōenkai 教化劇團後援會). Obviously, they were temporary organizations for a particular event. The four reports provided details of this event:[38]

A. The purpose of the performance was to encourage integration between Japanese and Taiwanese, to develop citizens' spirit and social education.

B. The performance was sponsored by many governmental departments, *Keisei shinpō* 經世新報 (Statecraft News), *Niitaka shinpō* 新高新報 (New High News), *Taiwan…shinpō* 臺灣□□新報 (Taiwan…News),[39] reporters, the gentry and merchants in Tuā-tiū-tiânn or Báng-kah.

C. The order of the four plays was:

First: A play for publicizing autonomy: *The Day of Revival* (一、自治宣傳劇：再生之日)

Second: A play about integration between inlanders and Taiwanese: *Shipwreck* (二、內臺人融和劇：難破船)

Third: *Tēnn Sîng-kong* (三、鄭成功)

Four: An exciting fighting historical play about the conquering of barbarians: *Governor-General Sakuma* (四、討蕃史猛鬥劇 : 佐久間總督)

Only *Tēnn Sîng-kong* was not explained. The reason must be that people were familiar with the story.

D. The form was a modern theatre, *shimpa* from Tokyo.

[38] There are four reports about the event in *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* and *Tainan shinpō.* See *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō,* Apr 11, p. 4; *Tainan shinpō,* Mar 25, p. 5; Apr 12, p. 9; Apr 13, p. 5.

[39] The original words are omitted.

E. There were five to six scenes. However, the reporter did not indicate clearly whether the number of scenes was for "a play" or of the whole performance.

F. Taiwanese players were chosen to participate in the play of *Tēnn Sîng-kong*, including six actors, two actresses and three famous *ge-tuann* in Tuā-tiū-tiânn.

According to the reports, the performance was very popular; for example, on two evenings, 11th and 12th April, there were audiences of nearly a thousand. Since the performance was not free admission and was still very successful, it cannot be regarded as only propaganda. The attraction was very likely to be the form: a modern theatrical style from Tokyo, and the themes, all of which were unseen before in Taiwan. This performance might have led to *Tēnn Sîng-kong Opened up Taiwan.* Since there were several Taiwanese players in *Tēnn Sîng-kong* in 1925, it is possible that they brought the experience to native troupes after the success of this event. Moreover, there is no other record of Chinese troupes having performed Tēnn's legend in Taiwan during this period.

During the war, when the government purposely took advantage of this model, the accomplishment of defeating the Dutch was the key point, because "Dutch" was a symbol of Western imperialism, which the Japanese claimed to have expelled from East Asia.[40] The Dutch were indeed the "D" of the ABCD circle during the Pacific War. However, in *Tēnn Sîng-kong Opened up Taiwan*, there was no plot about the Dutch; the first half of the play is the experience of Tēnn in China. Therefore, this play rather reflects the climate of that time: how the legendary hero was viewed and how the old hero was connected with the newcomer in a different era. Chinese troupes which came during this period did not perform this theme; therefore this play

[40] Jiang Renjie, op.cit., pp. 74-75.

probably appeared under Japanese influence.

2) Stories set during Qing rule

In the introductions by Ueyama and Tōhō, there are five plays set in this period, *Madam Pandanus, A Surprising Case in Taipei, Kam Kok-pó Sailed for Taiwan, Impossible to Stand below the Same Sky with Father's Murderer* and *A Surprising Case in Changhua.*

Madam Pandanus (*A Surprising Case in Tainan*)

Ueyama summarizes the plot of *Madam Pandanus* in 1925 as follows:

> During Chinese rule, outside of the southern gate of Tainan, Taiwan, there is a businessman called Tân Tiâu. One day, he suddenly becomes sick and dies after three days. His wife, surnamed Ôo, then marries Tsu Si, who is from Guangdong, China. After three months, Tsu Si finds that Ôo has a small amount of money. An evil thought occurs to him. He makes an excuse that the goods in Ôo's shop are out of stock and he would like to return to Guangdong for replenishment. Ôo agrees and gives Tsu Si 4000 yuan to go. In fact, Tsu Si already has a wife in Guangdong. Three years pass, and Tsu does not come back. One day, Ôo's sister scolds her for this situation. Ôo cannot bear the sense of guilt, and has no one to listen to her grievance. That night, she goes out to the southern gate market and hangs herself nearby. After that, Ôo's ghost wanders around the market and a severe plague is spread. People know that the curse is caused by Ôo's ghost haunting the neighborhood. Therefore, they pray in front of her tomb, and then the plague is eradicated. After that, they raise funds to build a temple, carve a Buddhist statue and enshrine her.

After Tsu Si goes back to Guangdong, two sons are born. He establishes a good family and enjoys his life without any difficulty.

However, Ôo's soul is full of hatred, and she crosses the sea to Guangdong and haunts Tsu's family. Tsu is made crazy enough to kill his wife then commits suicide. Sacrifices are offered to Ôo's soul. Then she is enshrined in a temple.

支那時代臺灣臺南字南門外に商人たる陳朝と云ふものがあつた、或る日夫は突然罹病三日にて死す、其の妻胡氏後に至りて支那廣東人朱詩を招夫として迎ふ、三箇月後に夫朱詩は妻胡氏に小金のあることを知り、惡計を案じ、店內に商品少なきを理由として吾自ら廣東に行き商品を仕入度き旨を妻胡氏に云ふ、妻之を諾す、夫朱詩は妻胡氏より四千圓を出さしめて廣東に去る。思はざりき夫朱詩には廣東に妻子の有る身であつた。三年間待ち詫びたるも元より歸臺する筈なし爲めに胡氏は姐に叱責され、良心の苛責に堪へず、哀れにも訴ふる處もなく、其の夜竊かに出て南門市場橫にて縊死した。然れ共胡氏の死靈市場附近に出顯して惡疫を流行せしむ、附近のものは胡氏の祟りなることを知り、其の墓前に祈禱なしたるに終熄す。故に住民は金を寄附して廟を立て、佛像を彫刻して其の靈を祭る。朱詩は廣東に歸り兩男を生み、相當なる家庭を作り不自由なく暮し居りたるが、胡氏の恨魂が廣東に渡り朱家に祟りをなすを以て、朱詩は爲に狂となり妻子を殺して自殺し、胡氏は廟に祭られて團圓。[41]

During 1936-37, Tōhō records this play again. The plot does not change too much, though the names of the protagonists are a little different. Tân Tiâu becomes Tân Tsìn-gī 陳進義. Ôo becomes Tēnn 鄭. Tsu Si becomes Tsiu Si 周詩, his homeland becomes Quanzhou. His motive is strengthened. Previously, Tsu Si found Ôo's

[41] Ueyama, op.cit., pp. 95-96.

richness by chance and then the mood of deceiving and betraying suddenly rose. In this later version, Tsiu Si knows of Tēnn's fortune, beauty and young age, and then plans for the marriage and the following action purposely. Additionally, the duration of marriage is prolonged from three months to three years, which would make the female character's later emotions and actions more reasonable.

A Surprising Case in Taipei (*The Hate for Ruthlessness; Tsiu Sîng Sailed for Taiwan*)
This play was recorded by Ueyama at the same time with *Madam Pandanus*:

> During Chinese rule, there is a Chinese man called Tsu Sîng. Due to poverty, he pawns the gold jewelry of his wife, to raise capital for his business. Tsu leaves Tainan for Taipei to run his business. Fortunately, he earns profits of more than 1000 yuan. However, he soon forgets his previous arduousness and his wife and child. He spends all his money in the red-light district. As a result, he decides to commit suicide. However, he encounters a man, Tēnn Hing from Hsinchu. He has brought 2000 yuan to Taipei for business, but has lost it. The depressed man has decided on suicide as well. Coincidentally, both of them have the same feeling and they swear to be brothers, stopping the idea of committing suicide and going to Taipei to start a business together. Three years after, they have earned profits of more than 30,000 yuan. Tsu Sîng takes a concubine and is found by his wife. With extreme jealousy, the wife, surnamed Lô, goes to look for her husband, but then is poisoned by her ruthless husband. The hatred in her soul haunts Tsu's home, killing the concubine and her son. The wife's spirit enters the underworld after death, and later is rescued and led by the Buddha to heaven.
> 支那時代支那人朱成と云ふものあり、家貧なりし爲妻羅氏の金器を典物

として商業の資本となし、臺南より臺北に出で商業を營みしに幸運にも一千餘圓を利す、爲めに前苦及妻子をも打忘れて花街に遊び囊底を盡盡し、進退維谷の結果、遂に自殺の目的にて行く途中、新竹の人鄭興亦用務の爲臺北に行く途中、所持金二千圓を紛失せる爲憂悶の餘自殺せんとするに出會ひたり、偶然にも同一心理にて共に義兄弟となり、自殺を中止して二人相依り、臺北に於て商業をなし、三年餘にして三萬餘圓を利す、朱成は妾を蓄へ居たるに本妻は之を覺知し、妬情の極夫を尋ね行きたるに、無情にも夫は之を毒殺せり。故に其の恨魂が同家に祟りをなし妾子共を祟り殺す、本妻は死後地府に入り、佛祖に救はれて極樂に行きて團圓。[42]

When Takamatsu produced the play in 1911, the time was set in the contemporary period. Therefore, "*geisha*"[43] and "*keisatsu sho*" 警察署 (police office) would appear in the play. The title is also in a modern style: *The Hate of Ruthlessness* (無情之恨). When Ueyama recorded the play in 1925, the title was changed to *A Surprising Case in Taipei.* The time was set in Qing rule. Shih considers *The Hate of Ruthlessness* to have inspired local troupes to perform the same play, however, the style of titles for local troupes followed the "surprising case" format and the time setting was not "modern." The obvious modernity of *The Hate of Ruthlessness* in Takamatsu's production seems not to be directly followed by native troupes.

Kam Kok-pó Sailed for Taiwan

Tōhō's summary is as follows:

The time is the Qing period. The place is Fujian province. A businessman,

[42] Ibid., p. 96.

[43] This did not refer to real Japanese *geisha*, but to Taiwanese *ge-tuann* in the colonial period. *Ge-tuann* also had to learn many kinds of performing arts such as instrument playing, singing and theatrical performance skills in order to entertain customers. Because the two careers were quite similar, in Japanese descriptions, Taiwanese *ge-tuann* was often directly called *geisha*.

Kam Bîing has a son, Kam Kok-pó. Kok-pó has squandered the money accumulated by his father. Therefore, his father is angry and forces him to work in a shoe shop. However, he is soon fired by the shop. One day, a deity appears in his dream and directs him to go to Taiwan. He borrows money from his uncle Tēnn Sîng. On the sea journey, he relieves the acute illness of Iû Tik-piau, who has been sent to Fengshan County as a Regional Commander. Therefore Iû brings him to Fengshan County Office.

At that time, the barbarians rebel and attack Fengshan County Office. Kam Kok-pó joins the punitive army and is very successful. He is awarded with a position as Squad Leader. His service is also reported to the Qianlong Emperor.

Meanwhile, the Qianlong Emperor is going to Shandong to suppress a rebellion led by Ông Thian-hiông . Kok-pó immediately wants to join the empire army and beheads Ông. This time, he is awarded with a high position. During the journey back to the capital, he hears that his uncle Tēnn Sîng has been falsely accused and jailed in Hangzhou by a vagabond, Pėh Tsuí. Kam arrests and executes Pėh and rescues his uncle.
時は清朝、所は福建省に、甘明なる商人の子に甘國寶と云ふ者が居た。父の集金を横領費消したので、 怒つて靴屋の子僧にやられて仕舞つたが、此處も間も無く解雇された。或る時仙人から夢の告で、臺灣に渡れと言はれたので、叔父鄭成から旅費を支給して貰つて渡臺の途中、船内で鳳山縣の鎭臺として赴任する游德標なる人の疾病を救つてやつた事から、鳳山縣署に連れ行かれた。

時に蕃人が叛亂を起し、鳳山縣署を襲撃するとの事で、甘國寶も其の討

伐に参加し、偉勳あつたので、百總に任ぜられ且つ今回の討蕃の委曲を、時の乾隆皇帝に報告にやられた。

折しも乾隆皇帝は、山東地方に叛亂を起した王天雄討伐に赴かれて居られたので、國寶も直に馳せ参じて、叛將王天雄を斬り殺したので、高官に封ぜられ、歸京の途中、叔父の鄭成が杭州に於て無賴漢白水なる者に捕へられ、冤罪の科で入牢し居ると開き、白水を逮捕して死罪に處し、叔父鄭成を救出したのである。[44]

According to *Zhongguo xiquzhi Fujian juan*, *Gan Guobao* was composed in Fuzhou in 1921 and was performed for the first time in 1922 by the Old Saile troupe in Fuzhou. The play had four episodes.[45] This troupe came to Taiwan and performed the play in 1923.[46] It is conceivable that local troupes were influenced by this play. However, the plot had changed a lot in Tōhō's introduction. Many important characters in *Gan Guobao* and related stories disappear in *Kam Kok-pó Sailed for Taiwan.*

Impossible to Stand below the Same Sky with Father's Murderer

Tōhō's summary is:

In Jī-kiat village of Lân-iâng, there is a traditional home school teacher called Liȯk Siông-iông. His eldest son is Liȯk Tshing-khue and the second son is Liȯk Tshing-siù. As sons of a learned father, both are bright young men, who will not shame their father. However, the family is quite poor. The father once borrowed 500 taels of silver from a wealthy man, Sú Tsiàm-khue, and is

[44] Tōhō, "Taiwan no engeki [8]," p. 20.
[45] *Zhongguo xiquzhi Fujian juan,* p. 116.
[46] Hsu, *Rizhi shiqi Zhongguo xiban*, p. 155; 160.

unable to return the money yet. Sú hears that the Liȯk family has treasure, Lû-ì jade, and desires it. In fact, he lends money for this purpose. However, no matter how poor the Liȯk family is, they will not give up the family treasure. As a result, Sú murders Liȯk Siông-iông and steals the jade.

The younger son, Liȯk Tshing-siù, goes to avenge his father, but unfortunately, is killed by Sú as well. The eldest son, Tshing-khue, with support from an acquaintance Lîm Ok, Lîm's daughter, Giȯk, and his friend Hô Sù-hok, captures Sú and kills him. The revenge finally succeeds. After that, because of intermediation of Hô Sù-hok, Tshing-khue marries Lîm Giȯk and establishes a good family.

蘭陽二結庄に、陸松容と云ふ書房教師が居た。長子は陸清溪、次子は陸清秀と云つて、共に博學な父の子として恥ぢざる有為な青年であつたが、家甚だ貧で、父は富豪の史占溪から五百金を借りた事があつたが、仲仲返濟は出來ない。史占溪は陸家には有名な玉の如意がある事を知つて居たので、何とかしてこれを手に入れよぅと考へ始めの五百金も其の底意から貸したものであつた。

然るに、陸家では、如何に貧窮はしても、家寶たる玉如意は手離さなかつたので、史占溪は遂に陸松容を殺し、如意を奪ひ去つた。

次男の陸清秀は、此の仇を討たんとして、却つて占溪に斬殺されたので、長子の清溪は知人の林屋や其の娘林氏玉及び友人何賜福の助力を得て、漸く占溪を捕て、これを殺し、父の仇を報じ得た。後に何賜福の媒介で、林氏玉を娶りて妻となし、圓滿なる家庭を作るに至つた。[47]

A Surprising Case in Changhua

[47] Tōhō, "Taiwan no engeki [8]," p. 21.

Tōhō only mentions the title, without any summary. This play is different from another well-known *A Surprising Case in Changhua,* which is also called *A Surprising Case in Jī-lîm Town* (*Jī-lîm-tìn kî-àn* 二林鎮奇案), because the criminal case in Jī-lîm occurred between 1941 and 1944.[48] Therefore, Tōhō is recording a different play. There was a series of phonograph recordings of *A Surprising Case in Changhua* in the colonial period, which will be discussed later. Tōhō's indication is probably this play.

3) Stories set in the Japanese colonial period

There are three plays set in this period, *A Surprising Case along the Tainan Canal, Human Morality* and *An Unfortunate Able-Bodied Man.* These plays are perhaps inspired by the modern Japanese state.

A Surprising Case along the Tainan Canal

To people in Taiwan, the title clearly indicates the time—the modern era after 1926, when the construction of Tainan Canal was finished. Tōhō's summary is:

> Tân Kim-khuân is a daughter of a poor family in Tainan. She was born beautiful and is devoted to her parents. She begins to work as a babysitter at 8 years of age, followed by other jobs, such as waitressing. She adheres to filial piety and never forgets to support her parents. Then she makes friends with Ngôo Kai-gī, who was hired in the neighboring shop. Kai-gī is mired in difficulties after losing his boss's money; Kim-khuân has some money earned by running errands for her master. She helps Kai-gī by lending the money to him. After that, Kim-khuân's family becomes poorer and poorer. With no

[48] Ko Jung-San, "Taiwan gezaice," pp. 23-26.

choice, Kim-khuân becomes an entertainer. Kai-gī starts his own business, but it fails and he even has difficulties in his daily life. By chance these two meet again. They share sympathy for each other for their unfortunate destiny, so they make a promise to marry each other. Nevertheless, their family debts pile up, and Kim-khuân is going to be sold to a wealthy man as a concubine. In the end, they promise to be a couple in the next life and then dive into the canal hand in hand.

陳氏金快は、臺南の一貧家の娘であつたが、生來美貌の、孝行娘で、八歳の時に子守に出され 、其の後或は女中となつて營營父母に孝養を怠らなかつた。近所の商家に雇はれて居る、吳皆義と云ふ青年と親しくなつたが、皆義は主人の金を紛失して困つて居たので、金快は主人の使歩きなどで貰つた金があつたので、これを皆義に與へて助けてやつた。然るに其の後、金快の家は益益貧窮に陷り、止むなく藝者となつて働かねばならぬ様になつた。吳皆義は、それから獨立して商賣を營んで居たが、これも失敗して其の日の暮しにも困る様になつて仕舞つた。

偶然の機會で、此の若き二人の男女が再會したので、互に相同情し、身の薄命をかこちながらも 遂に夫婦の約束までする様に深い仲となつて仕舞つた。　然るに、此の可憐なる男女兩家の負債は山と積り、金快は意に染まざる富豪の慰み者に賣られんとし 遂に若き二人は互に手を取つて、未來の世に仲睦じき夫婦たらんとして、運河に投じた。[49]

According to Ko Jung-San's 柯榮三 research, the prototype of the story is the news of a couple who committed suicide in the Tainan Canal, reported on 19th April 1932. The couple was a Japanese cook and waitress, both of whom did not have any relatives in Taiwan.[50] This news breaks the stereotype that the Japanese in Taiwan would "undoubtedly" enjoy a more advantageous situation. Later in this play, the

[49] Tōhō, "Taiwan no engeki [8]," pp. 20-21.
[50] Ko Jung-San, op.cit., pp. 119-121.

Japanese couple was changed to local Taiwanese. We can see that news about Japanese was also used by local troupes to create new themes.

Human Morality (Is it a Human?)

This is a play was set in modern time as well. Tōhō's summary is:

> A poor man called Ôo Lîn had a son, Ôo Iú-gī. Ôo Lîn wanted to support his son to advance and he manages to make money to send his son to study in cosmopolitan Japan. However, Iú-gī's correspondence with family is broken off once he leaves. Three years pass, there is no letter from Iú-gī, and his destination was unknown. Ôo Lîn is very worried; even though he tries to investigate by various means, the situation does not become clear at all. Ôo Lîn has nearly given his son up for dead when news of Iú-gī is reported in the newspapers. Iú-gī is sent abroad as an officer. Overjoyed, Ôo Lîn immediately takes his daughter-in-law to go abroad in order to meet up with Iú-gī.
>
> Visiting the foreign country far away, the father hopes to meet his promoted son, and the wife hopes to meet her husband. However, Iú-gī is ashamed of meeting his poor family. He does not admit to having a father and a wife like them and refuses to see them. The father hates the son's lack of filial piety and therefore commits suicide. Iú-gī's later wife, N̂g Hiân, who he has married abroad, and his father-in-law, N̂g Tiong-hù, are angry about his immoral behaviour. N̂g Hiân and N̂g Tiong-hù expose Iú-gī's behaviour to Iú-gī's superior. As a result, Iú-gī is dismissed from his governmental post. Just then, Iú-gī is robbed of all his wealth by robbers. As someone who is contrary to morality, there is nothing else Iú-gī can do except court destruction upon

himself.

貧乏人の胡仁は、一人息子の胡有義を出世させ度い念願で、有らぬ中から金を工夫して內地に留學させたが、出立後何等の消息もなく、三年經つても音信一つ來ず、行先不明である。大變に心配し乍ら、色色な手段で調べ見ても一向判明しない。何處かで死んだものと殆んどあきらめ掛けて居る時に、新聞の報道によつて、息子が外國の官吏になつた事を知つて大喜び、早速旅費を作つて、嫁を同道して、會ひに行つた。

遙遙遠い外國まで出掛けて、親は出世した息子に、嫁はいとしい夫に會へると思つてゐたが、有義は貧困な親や妻に會ふ事を恥ぢて、其の樣な親もなければ、妻もないと云つて、會はうとせなかつたので、父の胡仁は其の不孝を恨んで自殺して仕舞ふ。有義が任地で娶つた妻の黃氏賢と、岳父黃忠富は、有義の不孝不義に激憤して、これを有義の上司に訴へて官職を剝脫して貰つた。折しも不孝の有義は、匪賊の爲に其の財產は全部掠奪せられ、人道の叛逆兒有義は自滅するより外に道はなかつた。[51]

In 1932, a Chinese silent film entitled *Human Morality* was screened. It was produced by the Lianhua 聯華 company. The director was Bu Wancang 卜萬蒼 (1903-1974).[52] Then in 1934, it was screened in Taiwan. A composer, Khu Tsài-hok 邱再福 (fl. 1930s), and the famous songwriter, Lí Lîm-tshiu 李臨秋 (1909-1979), created a theme music with the same title (the phonograph record was produced by Popular 博友樂 Company).[53] The story is that a rich farmer, Zhao Shu 趙恕, sent

[51] Tōhō, "Taiwan no engeki [8]," p. 22.

[52] Actually, this film aroused intense criticism from the Left when it was screened. This is a famous case in Chinese film history. It is interesting that *Zhongguo dianying fazhanshi* 中國電影發展史 (A Developing History of Chinese Film) published in PRC, 1978 (the 2nd edition), and *Zhongguo dianying shi* 中國電影史 (A History of Chinese Film) published in ROC, 1986 (the 3rd edition), offer absolutely opposite viewpoints about this movie under the specific ideologies of both sides. In 1937, this story was shot again as a sound film by the same director. The title was *New Human Morality* (新人道). (The issuing company was Minxin 民新.) It reflected the popularity of the original silent film. Cheng Jihua, Li Shaobai and Xing Zuwen, *Zhongguo dianying fazhanshi,* pp. 190-193; Du Yunzhi, *Zhongguo dianying shi,* pp. 136; 141; 160-161.

[53] Hwang Shinn-jang, op.cit., pp. 128-129.

his son, Zhao Minjie 趙民傑, to a university in a big city, Tianjin. Minjie was infatuated with bright lights of city and ignored his family, while famine spread in his hometown. In the end, his new wife, whom he married in the city, leaves him; at the same time, his father and ex-wife both die of famine. The film is a modern copy of a traditional Chinese theme of heartless scholars, such as *Chen Shimei* 陳世美 (Chen Shimei).

An Unfortunate Able-Bodied Man

This was first played by the Takamatsu troupe. This is another case of Taiwan *seigeki* impacting on local classical theatre. According to Shih, *An Unfortunate Able-Bodied Man* originated from a *kabuki* play entitled *Tsumoru nasake Yuki no chi morai* 積情雪乳貰 (Asking Sympathetic Yuki to Breast-feed the Baby), but the time setting became the modern era, and the plot was completely changed.[54]

Tōhō only mentions the title, and does not summarize the play. The summary of the Taiwan *seigeki* play was published in *Goen.* The main plot is that Tsiu Bûn 周文, a corporal in the Able-Bodied Militia (*sōteidan* 壯丁團), originally has a happy family. However, because of their poverty, Tsiu's wife, Lîm Hûn-kiau 林雲嬌, is forced to become a *geisha*[55] by her foster mother. The foster mother even wants to sell Hûn-kiau to Puê Guân 裴源, who is the chief of the Able-Bodied Militia. This character is the major villain in the play. After Tsiu's family is separated, Lîm Thiam-kuì 林添貴 appears. He is a doctor and the lost brother of Hûn-kiau. This character saves the couple several times in the following story. In the latter half of the play, Tsiu wants to join the army to suppress the aborigines in mountains, in order to

[54] Shih, op.cit., p. 61.
[55] Here "*geisha*" refers to Taiwanese *ge-tuann*, just as the case in *The Hate of Ruthlessness*.

promote himself. At the end, Tsiu Bûn and Thiam-kuì fight with Puê in a battle against the aborigines, and Puê Yuan kills himself accidentally.

As Shih points out, Doctor Lîm Thiam-kuì symbolizes "science," and another police officer, who helped Tsiu to join the army, symbolizes "law." "Science" and "law" will protect a good imperial citizen like Tsiu Bûn at the right moment. In Tōhō's introduction in 1936-37, he says that it originated from an event in Yilan.[56] Although the original is a *kabuki* play and Shih considers the play to demonstrate colonialism, in the 1930s, the play was already native-ized, therefore Tōhō could directly recognize it as a purely native play.

4) Plays of limited information

There are two plays, *Madam Ông-á* and *Madam Îinn-á, a Robbery and Murder Case*. Tōhō only mentions the titles without providing any summaries.[57] As for these two plays, I have not been able to find any original news, theatrical records or *kua-a tsheh* works so far. Judging from its title, *Madam Îinn-á* follows the style of "surprising case" series.

2. The plays published by Columbia

In addition to the summaries of Ueyama and Tōhō, I will outline three *kua-a-hi* scripts. Although Ueyama and Tōhō recorded several plays, scripts are difficult to discover. The three scripts I outline below are complete and clear works of Taiwanese classical theatre. All exist as Columbia recordings.

[56] Tōhō, "Taiwan no engeki [8]," p. 21.
[57] Ibid., p. 22.

The first play, *Tsiu Sîng Sailed to Taiwan*, does not have any lyric cards preserved. The other two plays, *A Chaste Lady in Taiwan* and *A Surprising Case in Changhua*, preserve both records and lyric cards. Although lyric cards are scripts, their paragraphs are not separated by "scene" or "act," but by record sections. Phonograph records in the colonial period have two sides. The length of recording on a side is between three and four minutes. A section of a lyric card is the words from one side of the phonograph record. The second and the third plays have in fact been lost during the post-war period and are rarely known by people nowadays. The first play is also not completely the same as post-war versions. The Columbia recordings of the three plays have not been studied until now.

Tsiu Sîng Sailed for Taiwan

There are three episodes recorded by Columbia. Each episode has six records. The first episode is entitled "Tsiu Sîng Sailed for Taiwan."[58] The second episode is entitled "Guát-lí Looked for Her Husband" (月裡尋夫).[59] The third episode is entitled "Guát-lí Revenged" (月裡報仇).[60] The year of issue is not known.

The summary is the following:

Tsiu Sîng, from Quanzhou, sails to Taiwan to seek opportunities. In Taipei, his business runs steadily and starts to go to the red-light district. He meets Kueh A-mī 郭阿麵 and then runs out of money. Driven away by a madam, Sîng decides to commit suicide. About to do so, he meets Ông Kun 王根, who has had the same

[58] For more information about the records, please refer to Fukuoka et al, op.cit., p. 102, serial numbers: コロムビア 80199-A~80201-B.
[59] For more information about the records, please refer to Fukuoka et al, op.cit., pp. 25-26, serial numbers: 黑リーガル T149-A~T151-B.
[60] For more information about the records, please refer to Fukuoka et al, op.cit., p. 26, serial numbers: 黑リーガル T152-A~T154-B.

experience and will commit suicide as well. The fellow sufferers have mutual sympathy; they swear to be brothers. Ông Kun's father sponsors the two young men to operate a tea company in Tuā-tiū-tiânn 大稻埕. Their business is very successful. Sîng spends 3000 dollars to marry A-mī and abandon his wife, Guát-lí and family. Meanwhile in Quanzhou, Sîng's father, Tsiu Un 周溫 dies, and his son is born. Guát-lí sails for Taiwan to look for the husband. She finally finds Tsiu Sîng, but Sîng does not admit her and drives her out. A-mī hears about the situation, and decides to murder Guát-lí. Sîng does not oppose. She poisons Guát-lí. When dying, Guát-lí vows that her ghost will seek revenge. After Guát-lí dies, A-mī holds a banquet. When she and Sîng are celebrating, Guát-lí's ghost appears. She captures Sîng and forces him to stab A-mī and the assistant, A-thâu 阿頭 to death. At last, he stabs himself.[61]

The Columbia's version is likely to be set in the colonial period, the same with Takamatsu's version. In scene 8, when Guát-lí arrives Taiwan and aboards Hōo-bué 滬尾 port, Guát-lí's lyrics expresses that she has no money to take a car to Tuā-tiū-tiânn. This implies modern transport which connected a commercial port and city centre. Comparing the three versions of *Tsiu Sîng Sailed for Taiwan,* Takamatsu's in the 1910s, Ueyama's in the 1920s and the Columbia recording in the 1930s, the main plots are not very different. In the existing sources, among plays with Taiwanese themes, *Tsiu Sîng Sailed for Taiwan* appears the most times, so whether in the 1910s, 1920s or 1930s, it would be played. It is certain that this play had become a classic.

A Chaste Lady in Tainan

[61] For the plots of each scene, see appendix 5-1. I have distinguished between scenes. Ideally, the original scripts should be attached, but the copyright of these plays, whether text or recorded audio, is still reserved. Lyric cards are also not open to the public. Therefore, there could be a legal problem to attach the complete word content. A detailed summary of the plot is the only feasible option at this stage.

There are two episodes recorded by Columbia. Each episode has eight records. The first episode is entitled "The former episode of *A Chaste Lady in Tainan*" (前集台南烈女記), issued on 20th, March, 1936,[62] and the second episode is entitled "The later episode of *A Chaste Lady in Tainan*" (後集台南烈女記), issued on 20th April, 1936.[63] The editor of the lyric cards is Tân Giȯk-an
陳玉安 (fl. 1930s)

The story was first played by the Fuzhou troupe, Xin Fuliansheng, on 9th, May, 1911, and is first reported in *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* on 17th, May, 1911. It was entitled *An Extremely Surprising Case in Tainan* at that time, as mentioned previously in this chapter. The report in *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* only says: "therefore especially produces *An Extremely Surprising Case in Tainan,* namely the story of Tân Siù-niû, who was murdered by her younger sister-in-law" (爰特排臺南大奇案。即陳秀娘被小姑謀殺故事). It does not explain further the content of the story. We can assume that it is because the story – likely to be a true event – was familiar to people at the time. As previously mentioned, the production was very popular with local audiences, and it was later adapted as a *kua-a-hi* script. The script of the play has been lost. Columbia records have preserved the complete contents of this play, while the plot cannot be found from other sources.

The summary is as follows:
Tân Siù-niû was married to Lîm Thiam-siū 林添壽 as a little girl. Thiam-siū is incompetent and addicted to opium. His sister, Thiam-tī 添治, is the lover of Tiunn

[62] For more information about the records, please refer to Fukuoka et al, op.cit., pp. 66-67, serial numbers: 赤リーガル T1068-A~T1071-B.
[63] For more information about the records, please refer to Fukuoka et al, op.cit., p. 67, serial numbers: 赤リーガル T1072-A~T1075-B.

Khai-tshiong 張開昌, a private advisor to the Tainan Prefect. Tiunn also supports Lîm's family livelihood. By chance, Tiunn meets Siù-niû and is infatuated with her. He asks Thiam-tī and the mother of the family, surnamed Ngôo 吳, to let him posses Siù-niû, otherwise he would stop economic support. Under threat, they accept the demand and ask Siù-niû to obey. Siù-niû refuses and resists Tiunn strongly. Thiam-tī and Ngôo strike back at Siù-niû. After an intensive fight, Siù-niû is stabbed. Siù-niû's ghost appears in the dreams of her mother and the Security Group Head to tell them of the incident. Then her parents and the Security Group Head go to file a lawsuit. In the law court, the Tainan Prefect believes Khai-tshiong and hence rejects the lawsuit. The Security Group Head and the neighbourhood refuse to accept it and then ask for a postmortem examination. Khai-tshiong, Ngôo and Thiam-tī bribe the Prefect and the postmortem examiner. The postmortem doctor listens to Tiunn's instructions, reporting falsely. The public does not accept this. They support Siù-niû's father, Tân Ún 陳允 to go to the higher Fengshang Circuit 鳳山道 to file a lawsuit. After that, Khai-tshiong is chased by Siù-niû's ghost and tries to escape. Then the Circuit Intendant arrives and commands the Headquarter's Functionaries to catch Khai-tshiong. After interrogation, the Circuit Intendant orders the execution of Ngôo, Thiam-tī and Khai-tshiong and dismisses the Prefect from his office.[64]

A Surprising Case in Changhua

There are two episodes recorded by Columbia. Each episode has six records. The first episode is entitled "The first episode of *A Surprising Case in Changhua*" (頭本彰化奇案), issued on 15th, March, 1935,[65] and the second episode was entitled "*A Surprising Case in Changhua*, the last episode" (彰化奇案下集), issued in April,

[64] For the plots of each scene, see appendix 5-2.
[65] For more information about the records, please refer to Fukuoka et al, op.cit., p. 59, serial numbers: 赤リーガル T1022-A~T1024-B.

1935.[66] The title was only recorded once by Tōhō in the colonial period. This play is also lost.

A Surprising Case in Changhua is a narrative work. There are not many arias. For plays of criminal cases, narrative plots gradually became much more important than lyrical arias. This play shows the tendency for realism in form. The lyrical part decreases in realistic plays. Because the lyrical part is trifling, the play had already been separated from the lyrical tradition of Chinese theatre.

The summary is as follows:

Lí Sū 李士 lives in Changhua county. His wife, surnamed Kim 金, goes to collect the land rent. On her return journey, she takes a nap under a pandanus. Two women, surnamed Lí 李 and Ông 王, find her and 200 silver coins of land rent beside. Lí murders Kim with Ông helping as a look out. They bury Kim in the pandanus forest. When Kim does not return home, Lí Sū begins to worry and then goes out to look for her. A man, Kiat 吉, passes the pandanus forest and finds Kim's umbrella. He takes it and then meets Lí Sū. Lí Sū recognizes the umbrella and considers his wife to have been murdered by this man and drags him to the law court. In court, Kiat is tortured but vehemently denies the charge. The District Magistrate decides to investigate the case more carefully. Kim's ghost directs Sîng 成, a thief and a gambler, to Lí's house. Sîng hides in the house and hears the story through a conversation between Lí and Ông. He steals the money, but is then found by the District Magistrate, and the money is discovered as well. Sîng is taken to court. In court, Sîng reports the whole story. The two women are executed. Kiat is punished lightly for taking the umbrella and

[66] For more information about the records, please refer to Fukuoka et al, op.cit., pp. 60-61, serial numbers: 赤リーガル T1031-A~T1033-B.

deceiving Lí Sū.[67]

While it is a general opinion that the fixed scripts of *kua-a-hi* began to be created in the post-war period, mainly by the Kióng-lo̍k Company (Kióng-lo̍k Siā 拱樂社) during 1950s to 1960s,[68] the recordings show that it had already begun as early as the 1930s, 20 or more years earlier. Because the time of a record is fixed and limited, before the recording, this script would have been carefully edited. It is reasonable to suppose that the singers and accompanying musicians would have rehearsed the play. As a result, the plots in the above scripts are well-knit, without any unnecessary or minor matters. In traditional scripts, it is often the case that funny remarks by a pair of comic roles, and the arias of the major roles, lengthen the play. This does not appear in the recordings. There are humorous lines and lyrical arias, but the length of time is exactly appropriate and almost could be considered "perfect," without wasting any second, but enough to display all kinds of emotions and a sense of humour. It is normal that in traditional plays, the non-narrative part would become the major part or the centre; therefore traditional scripts cannot be exactly viewed as narrative literature. Compared to them, the non-narrative parts in the above plays do not obstruct the narrative part. The *Tsiu Sîng Sailed for Taiwan* recording is an especially interesting case. Most parts of the recording is singing, but in those arias, the progression of the plot, the emotions and feelings of every character in every different situation, and even the conversations and actions are described clearly. Therefore, the arias in fact include every necessary element of a play, not only for a lyrical function. The theatrical tempo of the three plays is controlled very precisely. Even based on the standard of contemporary theatrical tempo, these plays are quite acceptable, not

[67] For the plots of each scene, see appendix 5-3.
[68] Chiu Kun-Liang, *Piaolang wutai,* p. 103; 106.

"slow" or "loose" as traditional plays are generally thought to be. From these recordings, we can see that when Taiwanese classical theatre was formed, some works showed a modern standard in theatrical tempo and structure. This discovery refutes the notion that Taiwanese classical theatre only began to pay attention to the overall structure in the late 20th century. Further, *kua-a-hi* is thought to possess a strong style and tradition of "improvisation" (做活戲), and there is usually not a script writer. But the recordings show that, shortly after *kua-a-hi* was formed, the editing of scripts and "performance inflexibly" (做死戲) existed as well. There were already script editors, too, whose names would be given, such as Tân Giȯk-an, the editor of *A Chaste Lady in Tainan*.

VI. Characteristics of the plays with Taiwanese themes

The plays with Taiwanese themes have a strong realist style. They reflect a Taiwanese reality in the following respects:

1. Real locations and tropical scenes

In *Madam Pandanus,* Southern Gate and the market beside it, are real locations. To audiences, this play may have been taken as factual, not only as an imaginary story. According to the story, the heroine hung herself in a pandanus forest. This is why she is usually called Madam Pandanus. The image of the pandanus shows the setting to be a tropical island.

In *Tsiu Sîng Sailed for Taiwan,* there are also several place names, such as Hóo-bué (虎尾) port, Sin-poo (新埔), Hōo-bué (滬尾), Tuā-tiū-tiânn, and Tiâu-iông (朝陽) Street. All of these place names are real.

In scene 8, Guát-lí goes on a long journey to look for her husband. It looks like a typical unfaithful scholar play. In Quanzhou theatre, there are many of these kinds of plots, such as "Zhennü Xing" 真女行 (Zhennü's Journey) in *Cai Bojie* 蔡伯喈 (Cai Bojie),[69] "Yuzhen Xing" 玉真行 (Yuzhen's Journey) in *Gao Wenju* 高文舉 (Gao Wenju)[70] or *Yunying Xing* 雲英行 (Yunying's Journey).[71] However, the plot of the Tsiu Sîng play is different from these traditional Quanzhou plays. In the Quanzhou plays, the long journeys of the main female characters are quite abstract. There were few or even no place names, therefore "long journey," "far distance," "bad road conditions" are rather abstract concepts for audiences. By contrast, the plot in *Tsiu Sîng Sailed for Taiwan* is much more realistic. Places are clearly indicated. For audiences in Taiwan, they were able to estimate how far it is from Hōo-bué port to Tuā-tiū-tiânn, and especially for people in Taipei, how many hours she should walk, the route she might take, the places she might pass through, and the scenes she would see along the way: these were the kinds of details that were all predictable. Therefore, the arduousness of these female characters is easy to imagine for audiences. During the post-war period, on the basis of this realistic setting, more real geographical names were added to Guát-lí's lyrics in this scene.

In *A Chaste Lady in Tainan,* Fengshang Circuit, the commercial port of Anping and the shipping route from Tainan to Xiamen are all real. Therefore this play is just as realistic as *Tsiu Sîng Sailed for Taiwan.* It shows that the story has been adapted from a real social event in Tainan.

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[69] This script is collected in Zheng Guoquan et al, *Quanzhou chuantong xiqu congshu, disijuan, liyuanxi・shanglu jumu* 泉州傳統戲曲叢書第四卷　梨園戲・上路劇目 (A Collection of Scripts of Quanzhou Traditional Theatre, Volume IV. Plays of Shanglu, Liyuan Theatre), pp. 419-450.

[70] This script is collected in Zheng Guoquan et al, *Quanzhou chuantong xiqu congshu, dierjuan, liyuanxi・xiaoliyuan jumu* 泉州傳統戲曲叢書第二卷　梨園戲・小梨園劇目 (A Collection of Scripts of Quanzhou Traditional Theatre, Volume II. Plays of Xiaoliyuan, Liyuan Theatre), pp. 215-267.

[71] This script is collected in Zheng Guoquan et al, *shanglu jumu,* pp. 457-469.

In *A Surprising Case in Changhua*, the township of Pe̍h-sua-khinn and West Gate in the county jurisdiction are real and detailed locations. Therefore, this story is also very likely to be a true social event. In scene 3, the Kim's lyrics describe her walking in the blazing sunshine at noon; the sand road is burning in the strong sunlight and is too hot for her feet to tolerate. When she enters a pandanus forest, she feels a cool breeze. She sits under the pandanus, and soon falls into a comfortable and deep sleep. The lyrics and scene are very realistic. They draw on a tropical environment: hot weather, blazing sunshine at noon, burning sand, a cool pandanus forest with breeze across through; and further, people's reaction to this kind of tropical environment, a deep sleep in a nice and cool natural surrounding forest. The illustration includes light, a sense of touch, the comparison between hot and cool, as well as concrete soil texture and the name of the plant. It is obviously different from the previous examples of Quanzhou plays. In these plays, the most common illustration is for example "the road in the mountains is steep (山路險峻), which is a very vague description, while details, such as light, wind, temperature, plants or soil, are not described.

2. Taiwanese customs

The plays reflect many common or popular customs by the colonial period. These customs are recorded by the Japanese.[72]

1) *hōo-lâng-tsio* 予人招 or *tsio-ang* 招翁 (taking a husband)[73]

If there was no son in a family, the parent might have taken a husband for one of their daughters in order to continue the family line. If the couple then had children, the

[72] Because there are a great number of records and studies about Taiwanese customs by Japanese, I will cite the representative work, *Taiwan fūzoku shi* by Kataoka Iwao, and the second edition of *Taiwan* 臺灣 (Taiwan) by Takeuchi Sadayoshi. *Taiwan* was firstly published in 1914-15. The second edition was a new version, published in 1927. It is in fact a combination of previous studies. The preface of the book lists these sources clearly.

[73] Takeuchi, *Taiwan,* pp. 926-927.

children would inherit the woman's family name and property, instead of the man's. This situation was called *hōo-lâng-tsio* or *tsio-ang*. In *An Unfortunate Able-Bodied Man,* the marriage of Tsiu Bûn and Lîm Hûn-kiau is this type. Additionally, if the only son in a family dies, leaving a wife and children, the parent might also find a husband for their daughter-in-low, as they were a family's livelihood. This man would take the place of the dead son to raise their grandchildren and take care of them. *Madam Pandanus* reflects this situation. Ôo remarries after the first husband died. The second husband comes to Ôo's family, and works for Ôo's original family business.

The custom was influenced of two factors. First, there were many more males than females in Taiwan, because there was a long period when the Qing government only allowed single men to come to Taiwan. Therefore, women became rare and "valuable;" remarriage and *tsio-ang* became very reasonable and were permitted in this immigrant society where it was not dominated by the strict patriarchal moral principles of traditional Chinese society. Second, the Aborigines in the western plain had a matriarchal society; therefore their marriage practice also had an impact on Chinese immigrants.

2) *Ióng-lú* 養女 (adopted daughter)[74] and *sin-pū-á* 新婦仔 (adopted child daughter-in-law)[75]

In *An Unfortunate Able-Bodied Man,* the female character, Hûn-kiau, is a *ióng-lú*. In *A Chaste Lady in Tainan,* the female character, Chen Siù-niû, is also a *ióng-lú* or a *sin-pū-á*. This reflects a common custom among Taiwanese families. Sometimes a family would give their younger daughter to another family. The adopting family in

[74] Ibid., p. 967.
[75] Ibid., p. 928.

fact would treat this child as a housemaid. When the girl grows up, she would often be married to a son in this family. This kind of custom benefited both families. The original family of the girl would not have been able to raise a female child, especially when it was common for Taiwanese families to have a lot of children, and it was often a heavy burden. The adopting family would gain a free housemaid to help with household tasks or physical labor, such as farm work. When the girl grows up, the original family would not have to prepare for her dowry, while the adopting family would not have to prepare for betrothal money as well. Both of these costs were usually large, since it was very important in a wedding ceremony to show wealth and the reputation of both families, which poor families were often unable to afford.

Siù-niû describes herself as often tortured by her mother-in-law and sister-in-law. This also reflects the fate of Taiwanese adopted daughters or adopted daughters-in-law. Siù-niû also indicates that she and her husband are "a couple without affinity" (無緣夫妻).[76] This could refer to a loveless marriage, which was also a common situation in this kind of marriage in Taiwan.

3) *Ī-sìng kiat-pài* 異姓結拜 (swearing to be brothers)[77] and mutual aid

Impossible to Stand below the Same Sky with a Father Murderer and *Tsiu Sîng Sailed for Taiwan* reflect the custom of *ī-sìng kiat-pài* in Taiwan during Qing rule. People with no blood relations swore to be brothers, in order to try to build a relationship resembling a family connection. This custom resulted from the early immigration policy of the Qing government. Until the late 18th century, a man was usually prohibited from going to Taiwan with his family. Without the traditional support of

[76] Lyric card, Regal T1068, *Tâi-lâm liát-lú kì* 台南烈女記, p. 2.
[77] Kataoka, op.cit., pp. 238-239.

their clan, mutual aid between non-blood relatives became important.

Impossible to Stand below the Same Sky with a Father Murderer and *A Chaste Lady in Tainan* reflect strong mutual aid between people. Hô Sù-hok helps Liȯk's brothers in their revenge. In *A Chaste Lady in Tainan,* the neighbours gather to help Siù-niû's parents to redress injustice and to file a lawsuit. The public believe that Siù-niû's case is their own affair (算阮眾人个代志).[78] The cause of this is the same as the sworn brothers.

4) The belief in *Iú-ìng-kong* 有應公 (Lords who respond to every plea)[79]

In *A Chaste Lady in Tainan,* the gambler Iú prays for Siù-niû's ghost and wins when gambling. This plot reflects a special belief in Taiwan. In Taiwan, if people die isolated without their family to bury them and to offer sacrifices to them, they are buried together, and near the tombs, a temple called "the masses temple" (*tāi-tsiòng biō* 大眾廟), will be built to comfort their souls.[80] Gamblers usually pray to this kind of ghost to win, instead of praying to orthodox deities (*tsiann-sîn* 正神). This custom is still present in Taiwan.

The plays with Taiwanese themes portray many Taiwanese customs. However, the playwrights did not obviously criticize these practices. The tragedy caused by some customs was shown to audiences through the plots, but these plays were not for advocating reforming old customs and building a new society. Therefore they were very different from modern speaking theatre, which was used by the intellectuals as an instrument to enlighten people. Although these scripts and the intellectuals' scripts

[78] Lyric card, Regal T1074, *Tâi-lâm liát-lú kì*, p. 3.
[79] Takeuchi, op.cit., p. 1031.
[80] Kataoka, op.cit., pp. 1032-1033.

both expose some dark side of the society, the difference was in the intention. This gave rise to the different attitudes towards Taiwanese reformed theatre, between the native intelligentsia and the colonial government, which will be discussed later.

3. Taiwanese society and history

1) Economy

In *A Surprising Case in Changhua,* Kim goes to collect land rent in the first scene. This reflects the tenancy system in Taiwan.[81] In *Tsiu Sîng Sailed for Taiwan,* Tsiu Sîng and Ông Kun open a tea shop in Tuā-tiū-tiânn. The plot shows the history of the Taiwanese economy. The tea trade was centralized in Tuā-tiū-tiânn, and was a significant base for the thriving economy of north Taiwan, after the port was opened up to world trade during the late 19th century.[82]

2) Marital issues

In *Madam Pandanus* and *Tsiu Sîng Sailed for Taiwan*, the male characters go to Taiwan, gain their fortune and marry other women. However, they soon get into trouble with their relationships with their wives in Taiwan and their Chinese hometowns. The triangular relationships eventually ruin them and their families.

The difference between them is that the narratives emphasize different angles of the triangle relationship—*Madam Pandanus* emphasizes mainly the woman in Taiwan, while *A Surprising Case in Taipei* emphasizes a man from China and his wife left behind in their Chinese home.

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[81] For an introduction to the tenancy system, see Rubinstein, *Taiwan: A New History,* pp. 137-140.
[82] For an introduction to the history of tea trade, see Rubinstein, op.cit., pp. 170-175.

The popularity of this kind of theme was because of the special social background of Taiwan. During Qing rule, there was always a floating male population, consisting of opportunity seekers and troops garrisoned from mainland.[83] The service term of garrisons was three years. It was not strange for these men to establish a triangle relationship across the strait. Moreover, the strait, as a barrier, was "convenient" for men to hide their marital status. However, the marriage of this floating population was naturally unstable, and predictably, would easily result in trouble or a tragedy.

This is different from some Quanzhou plays, such as *Cai Bojie* and *Gao Wenju*, in which the male characters are "passively" brought into a triangle relationship, not "actively" deceiving and betraying partners. The triangular relationship would not even become a problem for the men, so there is no mention of them being ruined. By contrast, bigamous marriages in Taiwan were a real social issue; hence, in *Madam Pandanus* and *Tsiu Sîng Sailed for Taiwan,* it results in tragedy.

3) Self-governing and martial atmosphere

A Chaste Lady in Tainan reflects self-government in Taiwan. The Security Group Head was the leader of a self-governing organization, *pó-kap* 保甲 (Community Self-defense System).[84] He would lead the public to protest against the unfair trial.

In *Impossible to Stand below the Same Sky with a Father Murderer*, the government is unseen. Liȯk's brothers had to take revenge for their father and retook the family treasure themselves. This reveals the martial atmosphere in Taiwan history.

[83] Tai Pao-Tsun, op.cit., pp. 80-84; Inō Yoshinori, *Taiwan wenhuazhi,* p. 229.
[84] For an introduction to the development of the self-defense system, see Rubinstein, op.cit., pp. 142-147; 212-213.

Throughout Qing rule, the real social problems were conflicts and fights between different immigrant groups: between southern Fujian and *Hakka* groups; between Zhangzhou and Quanzhou groups; and even between sub-groups among the Quanzhou immigrants. The government was unable (or incapable) of solving the problem. Additionally, robbers were also a continual problem for public security at the time. Under these circumstances, powerful land owners would organize self-protection systems. Some villages established similar organizations, *bú-kuán* 武館 (martial arts club), to gather villagers to practice martial arts in daily life in order to defend the village in an emergency. In other words, people in Taiwan in fact established a kind of self-governing organization, and depended on themselves to deal with public security problems and clashes.

The following are the social phenomena during the Japanese colonial period. Although some plays were set during Qing rule, they also reflect the atmosphere of the colonial time.

4) Conflicts with aborigines

In *An Unfortunate Able-Bodied Man,* the suppression of the aborigines provides an opportunity for the male character to reverse his fate.[85] Similarly, in *Kam Kok-pó Sailed for Taiwan*, "suppressing barbarians" reverses Kam Kok-pó's fate. When comparing *Kam Kok-pó Sailed for Taiwan* with the previous *Gan Guobao*, which was brought to Taiwan by troupes from Fuzhou, we can see that there is no plot involving the suppression of barbarians in the version by Fuzhou troupes

"Suppressing the barbarians" certainly reflected the climate of the Japanese colonial

[85] Shih, op.cit., pp. 67-69.

era. Under Qing rule, the serious conflicts were not with the aborigines, but among Chinese immigrants. The Qing Empire had no control at all over the Central Mountain Range (中央山脈) and the eastern part of the island. The policy was to ban people from entering mountainous areas in order to avoid conflicts between the aborigines and the Chinese. Throughout almost all of the period under Qing rule, the government did not have any ambition to open up the mountain areas. As for aborigines in the west of the island, they were gradually sinicized during Qing rule. Not until Taiwan was upgraded as a province (towards the end of Qing rule), did the government begin to plan to assert control over the mountains and its aborigines, but the policy was not practised.

However at the beginning of Japanese colonization, in order to take advantage of the resources of Taiwan, not only from the developed western plain, but also from the unopened mountain areas and land beyond, exploiting this area became an important policy. Special police forces entered the Central Mountain Range, met aborigines there, and conflict unavoidably occurred. Conflict continued for the first 20 years of colonial period.[86] Special police and soldiers advanced deeper into the mountains, eventually pacifying both aborigines and nature. In the early colonial period, incidents in the mountainous areas continued to be reported on by newspapers. A new term, "barbarian disasters" (*bangai* 蕃害), was created, and "suppressing barbarians" was no longer fiction or a plan, but a reality, frequently appearing in the daily news which was read by the public. Therefore the *Kam Kok-pó* plot of conquering barbarians may also reflect this era. Moreover, in the performance by the Enlightening Troupe in 1925, there was "an exciting fighting play about the history of conquering the barbarians, *Governor-General Sakuma*," which may have influenced local troupes to use similar

[86] Ng Chiautong, op.cit., pp. 102-104.

plots as well.

The difference between "Kam Kok-pó suppressed barbarians" and some Mandarin plays, such as *Xue Rengui zheng dong*, *zheng xi* 薛仁貴征東, 征西 (Xue Rengui's War in East or Xue Rengui's War in West), *Di Qing ping Xiliao* 狄青平西遼 (Di Qing Conquered Western Liao), and *Yang Wenguang zheng nanman* 楊文廣征南蠻 (Yang Wenguang's War against Southern Barbarians), is that in the Mandarin plays, there is no problem of a "barbarians' rebellion," because the barbarians are all outside of China, a setting for plots under Han centralism. Xue Rengui, Di Qing or Yang Wenguang left China to conquer other races. The so-called "barbarian" or "Liao race" is an abstract image. The title, *Xue Rengui's War in East*, or *War in West*, even abridges the name of races, and it is often the case. The heroes go far away from the homeland for glory. Besides, when it comes to the theme of defending the country against the invasion from barbarians, such as *Yang's Soldiers*, the barbarians are still outside of China and not rebelling from inside.

However, when the barbarians rebel and attack the Fengshan county office in *Kam Kok-pó Sailed for Taiwan*, this is a clear and concrete incident. The location at which the barbarians may appear becomes very clear, and barbarians exist and act in the land of Chinese community. In this play, the barbarians are a certain and close threat, not far away and abstract and only a target for heroes. When indicating barbarian "rebellion," it implies that there was a previous "conquering" process and a thought to reshape aborigines or "barbarians" as members of the territory. These thoughts certainly are not seen in traditional Chinese war plays. Therefore, this could correspond to the climate during the colonial period as well.

5) No collective threat and large divide

Human Morality was influenced by Chinese film; nevertheless, we can still see differences between the film, its prototype and the play in Taiwan. In the Taiwanese play, there is no comparison between "city" and "country," and there is no famine, either. This reflects the social conditions during the colonial period. There was no serious rural-urban divide and no famine problems, either.

Most plays in fact reflect the achievement of colonization and its influence in a subtle way. In the plays, there is not a collective threat to the whole of society, such as serious poverty, disease, famine or war. During the 1920s and the 1930s, Japanese governance reached a peak. All kinds of modern construction were established. Society and the economy was stable. Therefore, the greatest danger was from individual risk, greed or sexual desire.

6) A capitalist society

By the middle of the colonial period, Taiwan had largely been transformed from a traditional rural society into a modern capitalist society. The values of a capitalist or mercantile society are obviously reflected in the plays. Money, fortune or treasure is a key feature that impacts on the fate of characters in most of the plays. Kam Kok-pó is expelled from his family and comes to Taiwan because of extravagance. Liȯk Siông-iông is killed for his family treasure. Madam Padanus is deceived because of her fortune. In *A Surprising Case in Changhua,* money and greed are the key motives for murder. Kiat was treated wrongly and punished because he picked up what others have lost and keeps it as his own, though his temptation was seemingly not so serious.

In *Tsiu Sîng Sailed for Taiwan*, the actions of Zhou – going to Taiwan for money,

committing suicide for money, and taking a concubine due to wealth – are often connected with money, all of which results in family tragedy.

In scene 4, Sîng's lyrics say that both Ông Kun and he were despised because they had spent all of the money (了錢目地講予人看輕).[87] This reflects a characteristic of the mercantile society, in which fortune is the most important factor to decide the class of a person. A poor man is even despised by prostitutes, who in theory are at the bottom of society. Ông Kun also intended to die once empty-handed. This indicates that Tsiu Sîng's case was not special in Taiwan. In scene 6, it is interesting that Sîng's lyrics explain in particular how much he spent when he married or "bought" A-mī. It implies that in a capitalist society, there is a tendency to materialize people. It echoes the characters Sîng or Ông Kun, who are devalued after losing all of their money. Everyone seems to have a price in this kind of society.

In *A Chaste Lady in Tainan,* the impressive points are the influence of money, the loose family ethics and sexual morals, and the power of the public. Ngôo's attitude towards her son and daughter-in-law is not a typical image of a mother. She and her daughter, Thiam-tī, exchange economic support for either their own or another family member's body. In the story, when these two women know Khai-tshiong's intention, their mental struggle is short; ethics and morals soon submit to money. When Siù-niû is locked up in a room, she laments that life and death are equal to nothing, compared with money.

In scene 4, the lyrics of Siù-niû's mother are also surprising. It describes how "Even if

[87] No lyric card of this play was preserved. The lyrics are my dictation. I transcribe *Tai-gi* in Chinese characters according to *Dictionary of Frequently-Used Taiwan Minnan Words* (教育部臺灣閩南語常用詞辭典), edited by the Ministry of Education, Taiwan.

you do not cherish the child, you should cherish money." (哪無惜子嘛痛錢)[88] It demonstrates that the marriage to Siù-niû is in fact a monetary transaction. Siù-niû is like a product bought by Lîm's family. It also shows that in this character's mind, parental love is also replaceable with money, even though she displays love towards her daughter. These lines express the idea that money is more important than a human's life.

In *A Surprising Case along Tainan Canal*, Tân Kim-khuân and Ngôo Kai-gī dive into the canal because of debts. There are other tragedies, such as *Liang Shanbo yu Zhu Yingtai* 梁山伯與祝英台 (Liang Shanbo and Zhu Yingtai) or *Kongque dongnan fei* 孔雀東南飛 (A Pair of Peacocks Fly to the Southeast), where a couple dies for love. However, their love is often frustrated by parents. In *A Surprising Case along Tainan Canal*, the obstacle is poverty and debt, and there is no influence from parents. The male character wants to change his situation by running a business as well as Tsiu Sîng in *A Surprising Case in Taipei*, but unfortunately he fails. The comparison is with Ngôo, another wealthy man, who is able to buy the female character with money. This play reflects that in a modern capitalist society, there seems to be a great hope for people to pursue richness, but more are losers in the new game. Further, money replaces traditional parental authority to decide the fate of love.

In *Human Morality,* the motive for Ôo Lîn's efforts is to get rid of poverty, which is the same theme in *Kam Kok-pó Sailed for Taiwan*, *A Surprising Case along Tainan Canal* and *A Surprising Case in Taipei*. It is different from the Chinese film and traditional Chinese plays, such as *Chen Shimei* or *Cai Bojie*, in which male characters mainly pursue success for personal fame, official rank or personal achievement, and

[88] Lyric card, Regal T1072, *Tâi-lâm liát-lú kì*, p. 3.

there is no problem with poverty. Therefore, it still reflects the characteristics of a new capitalist society, where pursuing wealth becomes the vital factor to influence the motive of characters' actions and their fate.

The values of a capitalist society are also reflected in the names of the characters. Many characters are named "Kim" 金, which means "money" or "gold." Apart from Kim itself, there is Kim-khuân 金快, which means "earning money/gold soon," and "Sûn-kim" 旬金,[89] which means "earning money/gold in ten days." Nevertheless, at the same time, many names of characters also suggest moral virtues. "Ren" 仁 means "kindness," while "Yi" 義, righteousness, was used more often. "Tsìn-gī" 進義 means "developing righteousness," "Kai-gī" 皆義 means "absolute righteousness" and "Iú-gī" 有義 means "possessing righteousness." In a newly developing society, traditional morality was also being challenged. The moral and ethical crisis that was unfolding is very clear in these plays. These names might also imply that righteousness or kindness is a way to prevent the tragedies that happen to the protagonists.

7) Modernization

Since many of the plays were inspired by current affairs in the modern era, naturally, modern things as well as modern social status would appear in the plays – modern things such as newspapers, canals, trains, hotels, police offices, etc., and modern social statuses such as police officers, doctors, able-bodied militia corporals,[90] military labourers, geishas, etc. The plots, whatever the time they were set in, show the new climate of the new era as well. For example, Tsiu Un and Kam Kok-pó join

[89] This is a character in Takamatsu's version of *Tsiu Sîng Sailed for Taiwan.* The name was "A-thâu" on the Columbia recording.

[90] Although able-bodied militia had appeared in Qing ruling period, this kind of organization was turned into a half-official system by Japanese government, and Able-Bodied Men turned out to be a formal social status. Rubinstein, op.cit., p. 212.

the army to suppress aborigines. Ôo Lîn wants to study in Japan and is sent abroad. Even in *Tēnn Sîng-kong Opened up Taiwan*, Tēnn wants in particular to seek Western canon to use in his battles.

In *Human Morality,* the modernization was changed to the Taiwanese context. Ôo left for Japan to study and then embarked on a career as an officer and was sent abroad. Newspapers appear in the play to inform Ôo's family, which changes the traditional mode, where the female character has to go on a long journey to the capital by herself to inquire about her husband, as well as replacing the letter in the film.

A Chaste Lady in Tainan sometimes reflects ideas in the colonial period, though set under Qing rule. Thiam-siū's incompetence is caused by opium. This character is also ashamed of himself and calls himself "an opium monkey."

When Japanese began colonization, they found that smoking opium was a custom in Taiwan. The colonizers considered it to be an undesirable custom that needed to be removed and later the government carried out a series of policies to gradually ban this habit. The lyrics and lines of the main female character points out clearly that opium makes a man lazy, muddle-headed, incapable, and causes his family bankruptcy. They also imply that opium makes a man impotent, which is a threat to continuing family descent.

In scene 6, Ngôo denies that Siù-niû died of an acute infectious disease and had to be buried immediately to prevent infection. This reflects modern knowledge of hygiene, which was established under the colonial government.

8) Image of Chinese

In scene 3 of *Tsiu Sîng Sailed for Taiwan,* when Sîng is hit, he is called a "Tn̂g-suann monkey" (Tn̂g-suann *kâu* 唐山猴). "Tn̂g-suann" is a term in Taiwan that refers to the native Chinese land. "Tn̂g-suann monkey" implies a distinction between China and Taiwan and further a disdainful attitude towards people from China.

Then in scene 11, the lyrics of A-thâu shows disdain to people from China. He speaks to Guát-lí when giving her the soup: "Your face is so sallow. Taiwan is different from your China." (講你面色真歹看, 臺灣不比是恁唐山). This echoes the scene when Tsiu Sîng is called "Tn̂g-suann monkey." It implies the image of Chinese people as being awkward and weak. It is connected with the belief about China in the colonial period, one which the colonial government had constructed, that China had declined, did not advance, and in particular had not been modernized.

Some of the crime plays are set during Qing rule. When authority figures appeared in these plays, their authoritativeness is not strong. The image of the Qing officials is not impressive, whether in positive or negative roles.

In scene 6 of *A Chaste Lady in Tainan,* on behalf of the public, the Security Group Head directly asks the Prefect for a fair trial and a postmortem examination. His line is that, "As an official, you have to judge fairly and clearly, and then we have to just accept it" (你爲官光明斷, 阮眾人即能甘願).[91] In scene 7, when the public finds the official acted unjustly after the postmortem examination, their response is also very straight. They tear apart the official's sedan chair in protest. The official's sedan chair symbolizes official authority.

[91] Lyric card, Regal T1073, *Tâi-lâm liát-lú kì*, p. 3.

In scene 9 of *A Surprising Case in Changhua,* Sîng asked the Headquarter's Functionaries to call him respectfully, "brother A-Sîng" (阿成兄), instead of "thief Sîng" (賊仔成), before he would agree to testify. A thief dares, in other words, to bargain with an official and ask officers to respect him.

These plots show the power and the sense of justice of the public, instead of the authoritativeness, wisdom or impartiality of a high official. It is doubtful that under Qing rule, public power or pressure could have been so strong. It is more reasonable that, because the government had changed, the image of the previous Chinese authority has also faded.

4. People in the plays

The characters in plays with Taiwanese themes also reflect Taiwanese society. The most impressive are the following:

1) Opportunity seekers

In the opening scene of *Tsiu Sîng Sailed for Taiwan,* Guát-lí sings that, because their family is so poor, her husband needs to sail for Taiwan. (家內艱苦甲這款，才著予君過臺灣) In *Madam Pandanus* and *Kam Kok-pó Sailed for Taiwan*, the male characters also come from China to seek opportunities in Taiwan.

In *Tēnn Sîng-kong Opened up Taiwan,* Tēnn is unable to win a glorious victory, or to preserve or recapture China for the Han Chinese, but has to withdraw to a small island off China. In these plays, Taiwan is a new world and provides new opportunities. Leading characters, who failed or were unable to survive in their homeland, come to Taiwan to seek new opportunities. It undoubtedly corresponds to the immigrant history of Taiwan.

2) Merchants

Many plays show the world of merchants. Kam Kok-pó is a son of a businessman. Tân Kim-khuân is hired in a shop, and Ngôo Kai-gī does business. *Madam Pandanus* and *Tsiu Sîng Sailed for Taiwan* are stories that take place among merchants. It corresponds to Taiwan having turned into a capitalist or mercantile society.

The following characters are related to ethical and moral restrictions in a society.

3) Weak parents or tenuous relationship with parents

In many plays, parental authority or power does not exist, or relates weakly to the main characters. Tsiu Sîng's father becomes sick and dies early after losing his son's information. Tēnn Sîng-kong goes in a different way from his father. Kam Kok-pó is expelled from his family by his father. Tân Kim-khuân's parents are incapable of supporting their daughter. Liȯk's father is killed. Ôo Lîn easily gets rid of his father.

4) Incompetent or irresponsible husbands

Husbands in many plays are incapable of their responsibilities. In *A Surprising Case in Changhua*, the husbands are all weak, either sick or poor and incapable.

In *Tsiu Sîng Sailed for Taiwan,* when Tsiu Sîng's family receives no information from him, Guȧt-lí says that she prefers no husband or she is equal without a husband. In scene 10, when A-mī quarrels with Sîng about his ex-wife, Sîng replies that "The whole family is under your power" (厝內全部就你的權). This is rarely seen in the traditional plays of Quanzhou or Mandarin theatre. Later, he does not even save the life of his ex-wife.

In *A Chaste Lady in Tainan*, Tiunn Khai-tshiong threatens Lîm's family to break their wine cups and snap their chopsticks if they do not accept his demand. Ngôo's lines express her worry that their family "rice bowl" (飯碗) will be broken. "Wine cups," "chopsticks" and "rice bowl" are metaphors for family livelihood. The lines and lyrics indicate that Tiunn has already taken the place of the only man, Thiam-siū, in Lîm's family to support them economically. Later, Tiunn will replace Thiam-siū as a husband. The following scene shows how unable Thiam-siū, the only man in Lîm's family, is. The line shows that this man knows clearly that his wife was urged to be the sexual partner of another man. He can do nothing but tacitly agree.

5) Fierce women

Compared to the portrayals of weak men, the portrayals of women's in many plays are fierce. In many plays, the murderers are women. In *Tsiu Sîng Sailed for Taiwan,* the cruel image of A-mī is strong. In *A Surprising Case in Changhua,* the murderers are women. They are also portrayed as being cruel and not easily scared.

In *A Chaste Lady in Tainan,* the murder scene is a comparison between a "disabled" male and a fierce female. Tiunn calls the two women to save him. The following intensive fight was between three women, while men were not involved. Siù-niû resists strongly against the three people; it shows the power to defend herself. While Siù-niû displays a positive power in morality, the comparison is with the other two women's negative power, which is also very violent.

These plays show very different female portrayals from the traditional female characters on stage. In traditional plays, such as Quanzhou and Mandarin plays, even negative female characters will not usually be the main or only instigator in a criminal

case. The fierce images of Taiwanese women in these plays do not fit the gender stereotype of traditional plays.

The images of weak parents, weak men and fierce women might reflect the collapse of the traditional ethics as Taiwan entered the modern era. People would not inevitably represent traditional gender behaviors. The traditional rules and relationships between parents and children, men and women were not as firm, strict or as absolute.

The depiction of the main female character in *Madam Pandanus* also reveals that the traditional restrictions on women were loosening. Ôo remarries out of her free will and then dies for frustrated love with her second husband, instead of her first one; this kind of plot is rare among the traditional plays of Quanzhou or of Mandarin theatre. In traditional plays, a female character is always forced to remarry, and she would often commit suicide as a means of refusal. In her heart, she only accepts the first man as her true husband and love, and will commit suicide for his sake as well.

On the other hand, "non-decent" characters might possess a sense of justice. In *A Chaste Lady in Tainan,* a gambler, Iú, repays kindness with kindness and donates a huge amount of money he has won to help a woman treated unjustly. In *A Surprising Case in Changhua,* a thief, Sîng, unmasks a murderer. The line between "good" and "bad" is not absolute in these plays.

The following characteristics are related to modern theatrical aesthetics.

5. Primal and direct emotions, actions and human nature

In *Impossible to Stand below the Same Sky with Father Murderer*, Liȯk's brothers had

to revenge for their father using their own physical strength, naturally and directly.

In *Madam Pandanus,* Ôo's hatred in her soul caused disease in the neighbourhood, and even pursued Tsu Si to Guangdong, and finally made Zhu kill his whole family and himself. This kind of female character challenges the typical female portrayal in the traditional plays of Quanzhou or Mandarin theatre. There were only a few exceptions, such as Guiying 桂英 in *Wang Kui* 王魁 (Wang Kui)[92] or Yan Xijiao 閻惜姣 in *Huo zhuo* 活捉 (Capturing Alive),[93] who capture heartless men and take them to the underworld. However, Guiying and Yan Xijiao do not display emotion as intensely as Madam Pandanus. Her extreme emotional hatred and the resulting actions make the ungrateful man mad and even hurt other innocent persons. In brief, the marriage experience, the emotion and the actions of Madam Pandanus goes beyond the standard for main female characters in general Chinese plays.

The emotions of Madam Pandanus and the main female character in *Tsiu Sîng Sailed for Taiwan* are shown intensely and directly. Their ghosts are both "hatred from soul" (恨魂) and haunt their husband's other family or even hurt other people. Lô also displays "extreme jealousy" (妒情の極). Therefore, both go beyond the usual role of a wife in general Chinese plays. The traditional and common demands on a woman, especially on a wife with a typical family background, are to express emotions in a reserved and self-controlled way. Losing control, and having extreme emotions, is almost to go back to a wild and unprincipled condition.

Moreover, the hatred from the soul of Madam Pandanus and Lô means we associate

[92] This script is collected in Zheng Guoquan et al, *shanglu jumu,* pp. 283-314.
[93] During the colonial period, *haipai* troupes which went to Taiwan often performed this play.

them with the female ghosts in Japanese theatre, such as *kabuki* or *noh*, who strongly show love or hate as well. Since these two kinds of performing arts were often played in theatres in Taiwan during the colonial period, there is also the possibility that this kind of female portrayal also affected local classical theatre.

Tsiu Sîng and A-mī in *Tsiu Sîng Sailed for Taiwan* also show primal, direct and "uncivilized" human natures. They easily make the decision to murder Guát-lí. Further, Sîng's motive to go to Taiwan was to rescue his family from poverty. When leaving home, he promised to return the money to relatives and friends. But when Sîng begins to make more money, what he immediately seeks is women.

His motive, promises and responsibility to his father and wife, have faded from his mind. Natural sexual drive seems to automatically take the place of social responsibility and obligation. The environment is obviously a cause. In a new world, traditional restrictions from a patriarchal clan and a neighborhood are all non-existent. Without strict and powerful social and moral regulations, the primal male nature is freely displayed.

There is an argument that the prototype of the Tsiu Sîng play is the play of unfaithful scholar that emerged during the Southern Song Dynasty (1127-1279) in China.[94] Nevertheless, the difference is that in these plays, a scholar remarries a woman from the top of a social pyramid, but in Tsiu Sîng's story, the main male character directly buys a prostitute, who is at the bottom of society. Further, to buy a prostitute as a formal wife, to establish a formal marriage, is hardly seen in traditional Chinese plays, while a scholar's remarriage is to help promote himself to the top social class. To

[94] Tsai Hsin-Hsin, *xishuo, shuoxi*, p. 37.

formally marry a prostitute does not seem to have a clear benefit. Therefore it is purely because of feminine charm or sexual temptation. In the scholar plays, the main male character exchanges his brilliance for higher social status. The woman he remarries symbolizes the high social status, instead of female attraction. By contrast, in the Tsiu Sîng play, the male character exchanges his money for sex, and therefore the primal sexual attraction of a woman is an important point. Although both are a transaction, the traditional play is more implicit and indistinct. Many reasons are offered to explain why the male character acts against his will. In contrast, the deal in the Tsiu Sîng play is much more explicit and distinct; the play does not find any excuse for the male character.

By showing clear and distinct emotions, actions and human nature was able to stimulate the audiences to a greater extent. It is obviously related to the stimulating plots, discussed next.

6. Stimulating plots

To show stimulating or exciting plots in theatre was a new aesthetic practice or experiment. The plays with Taiwanese themes are rife with murder, suicide and revenge. Undoubtedly, the ambition is to produce stimulating and dramatic effects. Taiwanese themes were developed in the period when crime plays were very popular. As the previous chapter indicates, the emergence of newspapers also had considerable influence. Stimulating plots satisfied the masses need for novelty.

If we think about the pursuit of realism and special effects, which were also emphasized in the same period, we can imagine that the murder scenes in these plays were unprecedentedly bloody and terrifying for the time. For example, being stabbed

with a knife, with its accompanying blood, would be more stimulating than the largely symbolic jumping into a river of traditional plays. Equally, the sight of a ghost climbing out of a well or three dead bodies on a stage at the ending of *Tsiu Sîng Sailed for Taiwan* was rarely seen in traditional plays. Compared to *Capturing Alive* and the Wang Kui play, plays with Taiwanese themes are thrillers, with less focus on the main female character's lyrical arias. This is a modern feature.

VII. What did plays with Taiwanese themes lack? The dissatisfaction of the intelligentsia

The contents of the plays with Taiwanese themes can be summarized as "money," "lust", "murder", and "ghosts." Just as with popular themes at the time, these plays had the same characteristics. This kind of modern interest does not seem to follow the ideal way suggested by the authorities or the local intelligentsia.

The Japanese government advocated science, rationality and the rule of law. Behind the rule of law was in fact the authoritativeness of the Governorment-General. Therefore, Takamatsu's Taiwan *seigeki* suggest ideas of indoctrination.[95] After all, his standpoint was the same as the colonizer, although his troupe looked like an entertainment business.

When it comes to the native intelligentsia, they approved of science and rationality as well, but on the other hand, they were critical of authoritarianism. Modern theatre was also used by the local intelligentsia as an instrument to enlighten people. Taiwanese themes in modern theatre often exposed social problems or introduced new ideas to

[95] Shih, op.cit., pp. 69-71.

the audiences. Just as with modern literature at the time, concepts of such as anti-imperialism or socialism would sometimes be included in the contents.[96]

Since modern plays and fiction with Taiwanese themes were instruments for enlightenment, the stories and plots served the thought and the purpose of the authors. This was similar to the earlier Japanese troupes and producers, who created plays set in Taiwan. Therefore, although these works by the local intelligentsia were to resist the colonizer, they unconsciously imitated the colonizers.

By contrast, Taiwanese classical theatre or Taiwanese reformed theatre/Taiwanese opera did not have a clear-cut stance. Local themes were neither an aid to colonization, as was the case with Takamatsu's production, nor a weapon against colonization, as the native intelligentsia wished. Although the plays produced by Takamatsu, by the local intelligentsia or by local troupes, especially Taiwanese reformed theatre/Taiwanese opera troupes, could all be viewed as works of social realism.

Without consciously resisting colonialism, social realism in the native themes of Taiwanese reformed theatre/Taiwanese opera was different from works by local intellectuals or in Taiwanese literature. In the plays, we do not see an object of criticism, which would be set out by writers or producers to cause the tragedies of leading characters.

In these plays, the moral regulations for characters are weak. Certainly, the aim of these kinds of plays is not to advocate morality, as troupes often claimed in their advertisements. The point and the substance of the three plays are the thrilling and

[96] Chiu, *Jiuju yu xinju,* pp. 308-314; Yang Du, op.cit., pp. 60; 95-98; 106; Shih, op.cit., pp.91-93; 99-102; Chen Fang-Ming, op.cit., pp. 31-33; 90-91.

extraordinary plots of homicide, instead of moral denunciation. On the other hand, the modern beliefs in science, rationality and the law did not appear in the plays, either. The stories have ghosts that seek revenge, or appear in someone's dream to indicate a murderer, or chase the murderers themselves, which are not at all scientific.

Even when some plays were set in the colonial period, the power of the colonizer was not shown. The direct symbol of law and the authoritarian rule of the Government-General, or police officers, rarely existed, while this role would appear in the works of Takamatsu and Taiwanese intellectuals, as well as in modern Taiwanese fiction. We can see the different viewpoints between the colonizer and the colonized by comparing the Columbia recording of *Tsiu Sîng Sailed for Taiwan* with Takamatsu's production. In Takamatsu's production, at the end, the perpetrator of the homicide, Sûn-kim, confesses his crime to the police and pays his penalty. Takamatsu does not forget to emphasize the power of law as an ending. In the Columbia recording, there is no such plot. The perpetrator[97] is killed by Tsiu Sîng under the orders of the ghost of Guát-lí.

Through these plays, we are able to understand why the Japanese government and the local intelligentsia had opposing views towards Taiwanese opera. To the Japanese government, it did not offend the authority of the colonizer, since there was no clear critical consciousness. Even though police officers considered it obscene, the authorities were rather lenient towards Taiwanese reformed theatre/Taiwanese opera, while it was more severe towards modern theatre played by the local intelligentsia. On the other hand, the local intelligentsia was more critical of Taiwanese reformed theatre/Taiwanese opera. To prohibit Taiwanese reformed theatre/Taiwanese opera

[97] In the recording, the name of this role was changed to A-thâu.

was in fact their stance, instead of the colonizer's. In previous studies, some scholars have often mentioned the intelligentsia's criticism of Taiwanese reformed theatre/Taiwanese opera, but they merely notice the reason as it being "obscene." However, in addition to being obscene, being superstitious was another important reason, one which was particularly mentioned by the local intelligentsia. Ghost plots in the above three plays confirms their criticism.[98] Through Columbia recordings and the records of Ueyama and Tōhō, we can see that the so-called "obscene plays," or romantic plays, were not the whole of Taiwanese reformed theatre/Taiwanese opera. In fact, the "superstitious" plots were probably more obvious. Any idea which was not based on science was defined as superstitious.

The local intelligentsia might have been more anxious about superstitious rather than salacious plots, because it showed a pre-modern, unscientific and non-rational mindset. The late arrival of modernity in Taiwan was always of deep anxiety to the native intelligentsia, therefore, to enlighten people was an urgent task and was also an unavoidable mission for them. As this popular entertainment had unscientific or non-rational characteristics, it would for them undoubtedly obstruct the enlightenment of people in Taiwan. The intelligentsia even considered that the colonizer purposely permitted Taiwanese reformed theatre/Taiwanese opera, in order to counteract the resistance from modern theatre.

However, before the war, Taiwanese opera was purely entertainment and was never employed by any political power or group. Further, Taiwanese opera as a mixture of

[98] It is not difficult to find criticism of superstitions in newspapers. A representative case was "Hì-kio̍k kái-liông lūn" 戲劇改良論 (A Discourse on Theatre Reform) by A Hermit in East Mountain (東山處士). In this article, the author argues that there were three kinds of harmful plays: lewd plays (淫惡之劇), superstitious plays (迷信之劇), and immoral plays (蔑倫之劇). Superstitious plays were put on a par with lewd plays. See *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō,* Jul. 24, 1920, p. 6.

modern and pre-modern elements was a symbol of Taiwanese society, which also mixed modern and pre-modern elements.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that Taiwanese themes appeared in Taiwan neither naturally nor independently. The emergence of Taiwanese themes resulted from theatre reform and was influenced by colonization.

Originally, Taiwanese classical theatre during the Japanese colonial period was simply viewed as a traditional form of theatre by researchers. In recent years, it has begun to be discussed within a modern context. The new performance environment, modern theatrical buildings, and accompanying theatrical technology have all been noted. This chapter demonstrates further modern characteristics, such as the strong narrative style, social realist themes, stimulating plots and fast tempo. It can be seen also that the modernity of Taiwanese classical theatre is also shown in the scripts, especially the Taiwanese reformed theatre/Taiwanese opera scripts.

After war, the development of Taiwanese themes was suspended. The themes of Taiwanese reformed theatre/Taiwanese opera in the post-war period can be classified into three kinds. The first is a pure fictitious background; the second is a fictitious Chinese background: plays vaguely set in ancient China, without a definite period and region. The third returns to tradition, obtaining materials from Chinese legends or the fiction of the Ming (1368-1644) and Qing periods. It is not until the 2000s that the development of Taiwanese themes was relaunched, under cultural nativization, after the KMT lost power in 2000.

Chapter Six

Conclusion

Modernization and Taiwanization were connected in the process of forming Taiwanese classical theatre. The modernization of classical theatre was launched when Japanese researchers began to study it with modern approaches. To define Taiwanese theatre is a modern construction. The substance and identity of Taiwanese classical theatre was established through this process. As a matter of fact, in the contemporary period, Taiwanese classical theatre studies still follows the major framework established during the colonial period.

Following the construction of the concept of Taiwanese classical theatre, the modernization of classical theatre formed the essence of Taiwanese classical theatre. Older forms in Taiwan began to experiment with modernization. They became modern theatrical products and were connected with all kinds of modern media. Traditional lyrics and symbolic aesthetics were replaced with modern narrative and realist aesthetics. The experiment continued until the outbreak of war.

Along with theatrical modernization was Taiwanization. The spirit of modern theatre was the pursuit of realism; it gradually stimulated Taiwanese audiences to think about realism in a Taiwanese context. Taiwanization was shown in three aspects, namely, Taiwanese genres, language, and themes.

Taiwan-gi was formed at the beginning of the Japanese colonial period. The linguistic tradition in classical theatre also began to be abandoned. The older genres that had

originated from southern Fujian or eastern Guangdong changed their languages to the new *Taiwan-gi*. Mandarin genres were influenced by the sounds of *Taiwan-gi* or Taiwanese *Hakka* as well.

Japanese and Chinese troupes that visited Taiwan created Taiwanese themes before local troupes adopted them. Some of the plays by Japanese troupes or Chinese troupes might have been entirely original compositions. Plays by Japanese troupes might in particular imply that it was rational for Japanese colonizers to civilize Taiwan. By contrast, the plays by Taiwanese classical theatre troupes reflected real Taiwanese surroundings, society and history, and did not embrace a specific ideology. In another aspect, these plays exhibited an interest in contemporary events and society. Social events, criminal cases, surprising and stimulating plots became the mainstream.

Theatrical modernization and Taiwanization resulted in the development of Taiwanese reformed theatre/Taiwanese opera. It clearly displayed modern and Taiwanese characteristics. The emergence of the new genre was undoubtedly a crucial part in the formation of Taiwanese classical theatre.

I. A mirror of the newly-shaped Taiwanese culture and the colonial nature

Commercial theatres in the cities were important to the development of Taiwanese reformed theatre/Taiwanese opera. Cities in the colonial period were the most modern areas in Taiwan, and the commercial theatre was a product of modernization, providing all kinds of modern entertainments. The extreme popularity of Taiwanese reformed theatre/Taiwanese opera in particular shows that the taste of people in the cities was for new theatre with more Taiwanese characteristics. This corresponded to

the cultural climate in Taiwan during that era. At the time of the advent of Taiwanese opera, the 1920s, the Taiwanese New Culture Movement had also been launched. The native intelligentsia was not satisfied with the modernization led by the colonial government; they also sought a local cultural modernization for Taiwanese people. The Taiwanization of the language and themes of Taiwanese opera took place even earlier than the Taiwanese New Literature Movements in the 1930s, when a new generation of Taiwanese intelligentsia, who had received a modern education, advocated using *Taiwan-gi* to write Taiwanese themes.

The formation of Taiwanese classical theatre was deeply connected with the social climate as well. Classical theatre in Taiwan was modernized with the rest of society at the same time. Because of colonization and the accompanying modernization, culture in Taiwan was being reshaped in this period. The formation of Taiwanese classical theatre included traditional elements on the island, new influences from Japan and China, and also traces of modernization. Moreover, it reflects colonial modernity and connections with cultural production in other fields. As with other fields, Western forms or modern forms of theatre were not directly introduced by Westerners. Rather, it was the Japanese who had learnt Western forms and then introduced these to Taiwan. What the Taiwanese received was a modernity translated by the Japanese. Yuko Kikuchi and other scholars refer to this colonial modernity in Taiwan as "refracted modernity."[1] The hybridized colonial modernity shows a mix of traditional Taiwanese, Japanese and Western styles. This hybridization appears in many other artistic fields, as well as in theatre.

Because of this refraction through Japan, as Leo Ching and Fong Shiaw-Chian

[1] Kikuchi, op.cit., p. 9.

indicate, modernization in Taiwan was difficult to distinguish from Japanization.[2] However, I would define Japanization more accurately. Japanization includes traditional Japanese characteristics, such as dress, architecture, life styles, and so on. In terms of Taiwanese classical theatre, these traditional aspects did not have a noticeable influence in the pre-war period. That is, traditional Japanese styles of costumes, makeup, stage setting, music, singing, dancing and so on, did not affect Taiwanese classical theatre. Taiwanese classical theatre did not adapt Japanese folktales, legends or traditional plays, either. It was mostly influenced by modern styles, although traditional theatrical forms did also exist in Taiwan at the same time. Therefore, when it comes to theatre, it is not accurate to say that it took Japanization to be modernization. Local dramatists clearly chose the modern style.

This modernity was refracted through the colonizers and was also selected by them. That is, the colonizers selected what they thought was advantageous or was needed to modernize Taiwan. Undoubtedly, "advantageous" meant in the interest of the empire, instead of those colonized. However, the selected modernity was not absolutely obeyed or received by the colonized. As I pointed out previously, Taiwanese troupes performed social event plays; this is an aspect of modernity, but it is obviously not what the colonizers expected. As Tarumi Chie argues with respect to literature, colonial authors glorified modernization.[3] Similarly, in theatre, the colonial dramatists, such as Takamatsu, also had this view. What they meant by modernization was the modernization enterprise of the colonial government. By contrast, when it comes to the people who were colonized, the modernity they sometimes showed was obviously another case. Therefore, I described it as "deviation" in the previous chapter.

[2] Fong Shiaw-Chian, "Hegemony and Identity," p.179; Leo Ching, op.cit., pp. 28-29.
[3] Tarumi Chie, "An Author Listening to Voices," p. 268.

The modernity in Taiwan was not merely refracted, but sometimes deviated to a considerable extent from the way directed by the colonizers.

Like Japanese painters in Taiwan, earlier Japanese dramatists, such as Kawakami Otojirō, preferred the exotic stimulation from adopting Taiwanese themes and backgrounds in his plays. Further, after observing the Taiwanese natural environment, artists attempted to create "local colour." However, Japanese painters rejected the Taiwanese painting tradition. Therefore, what they said was that local colour was not local tradition. This implies that, to these colonizers, Taiwan was a historical vacuum.[4] They discovered the beauty of the land and defined the meaning of Taiwanese local colour. This discovery and aesthetic construction also existed in other artistic fields, such as crafts and theatre. As I have argued, Japanese dramatists like Takamatsu Toyojirō attempted to use Taiwanese themes to display local characteristics. At the same time, the colonizers also rejected the local theatrical tradition. They attempted to re-define or create what they thought to be Taiwanese characteristics.

Connected with this, the aesthetic tastes of local people were re-examined by the colonizers. Artists considered Taiwanese aesthetic tastes to be reflected in the Taiwanese natural tones: strong, rough, or brightly uniform. The colonized were criticized by the colonizers as lacking in appreciation and spiritual quality.[5] Similar discourses existed in the theatrical field, as I have indicated previously. The popular theatrical forms were criticized as strong, rough and lacking in any spiritual quality, and the ability of audiences to appreciate theatre was doubted. The colonized then learnt the colonizer's ways to examine their natural environment or culture. This

[4] Liao Hsin-Tien, op.cit., p. 44; Yen Chuan-Ying, "Oriental-style Painting," pp. 85-86.
[5] Liao Hsin-Tien, op.cit., p. 44; 57.

feature appeared in art as well as in theatre.

The above factors show how the Japanese colonization shaped the modern Taiwanese culture. Taiwanese classical theatre formed in the Japanese colonial period is nowadays viewed as native Taiwanese classical theatre. Similarly, Taiwanese culture shaped in this period is now viewed as native Taiwanese culture. Nevertheless, they were originally colonial products in the early 20th century. It definitely shows the far-reaching influence of the colonial cultural production.

II. Findings and Contribution of the study

This dissertation is a historical study of Taiwanese classical theatre, instead of being only an introduction to a form, as previous works often are. As Chapter One points out, Japanese influences and factors have been neglected by previous scholars as a result of the KMT government's anti-Japanization policy over several decades, either intentionally or unconsciously. The contribution of this dissertation is to fill this gap in order to get closer to the historical reality. In this dissertation, I examined Taiwanese classical theatre within its colonial context. Japanese factors and Japanese influences are undoubtedly the significant points of this dissertation. For the first time, I show how classical theatre in Taiwan was affected by Japanese theatrical activities. Also for the first time, I show how the theatrical movements in Japan and China influenced classical theatre in Taiwan and resulted in Taiwanese reformed theatre/Taiwanese opera. The re-discovery and clarification of these two terms is also an important contribution of this dissertation. It is the first time that their meaning for Taiwanese theatrical history is shown and explained. While previous researchers have only described their emergence, I show the causes. Therefore, while their occurrence

looks accidental in the descriptions of previous studies, I show and examine the historical factors behind these in this study.

In contrast to most theatrical studies in Taiwan, this thesis is closer to studies published in English, which focus on the colonial period. The common interest of this thesis and other studies is modernization within a colonial context. As I have mentioned, English-language scholarships cover many issues, but discussions of theatre are sparse. This thesis shows that the discussion of the previously ignored Taiwanese classical theatre can support and supplement the wider debate on Taiwanese modern cultural production in a colonial context. As with modern literature, arts and other kinds of modern construction, the formation of Taiwanese classical theatre epitomizes Taiwanese modernization, which was a direct result of colonization. Modern Taiwanese identity and Taiwaneseness were shaped through this process, as they were shaped in many other fields.

III. Rethinking contemporary theory and movement to "refine" Taiwanese classical theatre

In the post-war period, Taiwanese classical theatre continued to modernize. This tendency is especially obvious in *kua-a-hi*, *cai-ca-hi,* glove puppetry and shadow theatre.

Scholars usually say that *kua-a-hi* and *cai-ca-hi* are strongly capable of absorbing very different artistic elements. The question then becomes if the typical model of *kua-a-hi* and *cai-ca-hi* has already been formed. The opinion that the model has not yet appeared is, however, based on a specific assumption, which is that traditional

Chinese theatre is the model for Taiwanese classical theatre. On this assumption, *kua-a-hi* and *cai-ca-hi* is sharply different from traditional Chinese theatre. Because these scholars neglect the historical context, and do not possess enough knowledge of Japanese colonial history, they fail to see that the difference is due to theatrical modernization. They seem to be confused by a type of theatre which mixes traditional and modern characteristics. In their opinion, this type cannot be viewed as a typical model of *kua-a-hi*, *cai-ca-hi* or any other genre of Taiwanese classical theatre, since it is very different from the traditional form.

However, we should avoid the idea of a "model" or "standard" of classical theatre, and examine theatre in its historical context. As I point out in this dissertation, the Japanese colonial era in Taiwan is a crucial transitional period from a traditional society to a modern society. Old and new elements coexisted and mixed at the same time. Since *kua-a-hi* and *cai-ca-hi* are the products of this era, they naturally reflect the time in which they arose, and naturally include traditional and modern elements, as modern Taiwanese society did. *Kua-a-hi* and *cai-ca-hi* were like modern speaking theatre, which also possesses an especially strong capacity to absorb modern or Western elements. Scholars of *kua-a-hi* and *cai-ca-hi*, however, do not find this similarity between *kua-a-hi* and *cai-ca-hi* and modern speaking theatre. This is also because they limit their research to within a specific genre, and ignore the historical context.

The assumption that the traditional form is the model further affects the contemporary development of Taiwanese classical theatre. When Taiwanese classical theatre began to be studied academically, some scholars also began to occupy the position of Chief Arts Officer, because of their academic authority. They are keen to advocate

reforming or "refining" Taiwanese classical theatre, especially the genres that have been modernized to a greater extent, such as *kua-a-hi*, *cai-ca-hi,* glove puppetry and shadow theatre. The method to "refine" Taiwanese classical theatre is to remove precisely those modern elements, such as popular songs, Western or modern instruments, modern special effects, modern themes and plots, and so on. In their opinion, the traditional form is much more delicate than the modernized form. The representative case is the reformation of *kua-a-hi* and *cai-ca-hi* advocated by Tseng Yung-yih 曾永義 and Cheng Rom-Shing 鄭榮興.[6] In this movement, the *jingpai* 京派 (Beijing school) of Beijing opera is usually viewed as the "model" for refinement. Obviously, they presume that Beijing opera of "Beijing style" is a "delicate" form and should be the "standard" for *kua-a-hi* and *cai-ca-hi* to follow. On the other hand, Beijing opera of *haipai* is neglected. They fail to notice that *kua-a-hi* and *cai-ca-hi* were born under the influence of *haipai.* It was *haipai* that would have been the model for *kua-a-hi* and *cai-ca-hi* troupes at their inception.

Their opinion is based on another deeper historical and political factor, although they may be not aware of it. In 1949, a number of troupes accompanied the KMT army when it was exiled to Taiwan. Most of these troupes played *jingpai* Beijing opera. When the KMT government pursued policies of sinicization, these military troupes were promoted as "national troupes" and enjoyed rich national resources, which was a privilege never given to native Taiwanese troupes before democratization and nativization became mainstream in Taiwan during the late 1990s. National schools were established which only taught *jingpai* Beijing. Through a series of cultural policies, this kind of theatre was defined by the authorities as the standard and the

[6] The performances of Heluo Gezixi Tuan 河洛歌子戲團 (Holo Opera Company) and Guoli Taiwan Xiqu Xueyuan Kejiaxi Xuexi 國立臺灣戲曲學院客家戲學系 (Department of Hakka Opera, National Taiwan College of Performing Arts) are notable for practicing this theory.

only type of classical theatre. Regretfully, scholars who are eager to "refine" Taiwanese classical theatre are not aware of this deeper and wider political effect on cultural and aesthetic values. In fact, the way to refine is to narrow the broad aesthetic variety of Taiwanese classical theatre. Modern elements are undoubtedly crucial characteristics that distinguish Taiwanese classical theatre from Chinese classical or traditional theatre. To refine it is likely to remove these distinguishing features and to assimilate Taiwanese classical theatre into the more traditional Chinese theatre.

From an historical point of view, this movement is to turn back the clock. When *haipai* was formed, theatre in Shanghai was more advanced than that in Beijing, because Shanghai adopted new theatrical techniques and ideas much earlier and more rapidly than Beijing. Beijing theatre in reality later imitated the new elements from Shanghai theatre. Therefore in that era, Shanghai had the more innovative role in Chinese theatre. What Taiwanese theatre learnt from China was exactly this type of innovation. When this movement tries to assimilate Taiwanese classical theatre into *jingpai* Beijing opera, it is no other than directing Taiwanese classical theatre to learn an older form of Chinese theatre. It is likely to try to pull Taiwanese classical theatre back to a pre-modern state. To some scholars, the pre-modern state is equal to pure. However, it is possible to argue that it is simply to go backwards.

IV. From Taiwanese opera to new opera and new theatre

This dissertation has shown the many modern characteristics of Taiwanese classical theatre and Taiwanese opera. It has shown that there is not a clear-cut distinction between Taiwanese classical theatre and modern theatre, as researchers have previously suggested. However, Taiwanese classical theatre did not turn into modern

speaking theatre directly. There was still a process of transition. I will further argue that, based on phonograph recordings, this transition is *shin kageki; sin kua-kio̍k* 新歌劇 (new opera).

When Taiwanese opera emerged, meanwhile, players and musicians were experimenting with *shin kageki*. In form and theme, *shin kageki* was closer to modern speaking theatre, but it was still not purely "speaking" theatre. The initial modern theatre was not purely "speaking," as researchers have previously thought. *Shingeki* was a key point. Researchers usually thought *shingeki* developed to be a purely speaking theatre. Therefore, it is real modern theatre in Taiwanese theatrical history. But phonograph recordings show that *shingeki* also had singing parts as well as musical accompaniment; and, occasionally, a record would be labeled both *shingeki* and *shin kageki*. Therefore, *shingeki* and *shin kageki* also overlapped with each other to some extent. Preserved scripts of *shingeki* are scarce and do not mark singing parts, while other kinds of texts, such as newspapers or magazines, do not reveal the overlap, so textual sources generally do not show this overlap, either. Further, Taiwanese opera *kua-a-hi* and *cai-ca-hi* troupes would sometimes also perform *shingeki*. This shows that Taiwanese opera, new opera and new theatre were not absolutely separate at the time. They did not develop separately and there were no clear-cut lines between these genres, as previous scholars have thought.

Based on my research, it is possible to draw a new process of development. The first stage was the formation of "Taiwanese *kageki*," *kua-a-hi* and *cai-ca-hi*. The second stage was the advent of *shin kageki*. The final stage was the emergence of shingeki.

As a matter of fact, so far there is no study about this development and it has not

drawn much attention from researchers. However, it is actually an important question in Taiwanese theatrical history. Building on the foundation of this dissertation, I believe this to be an important topic in Taiwanese theatrical history for future research.

After more and more sources are uncovered, and more and more studies are carried out based on these newly discovered sources, the general belief that the modernization of classical theatre in Taiwan was directly caused by the *kominka* campaign during the war should now be abandoned. I have shown that it had begun much earlier, at the turn of the 20th century. Further, the modernization of classical theatre was not as superficial as merely changing costumes and status, as previous beliefs indicate. The perspective on theatre was being reformed; theatre was being observed and valued in a new way. Along with the conceptual revolution, there were all kinds of practices and experiments in the new realist aesthetics. The Taiwaneseness of theatre was born with theatrical modernization, in a whole new social climate, during this special era. There is not a "clear-cut" line between traditional theatre and modern theatre. Rather, this era is a transformational stage for Taiwanese classical theatre. This crucial transitional process has been unknown and unseen for a long time, and has only been studied for a little more than a decade. Since sources are continuing to be uncovered, and the already re-discovered sources have not been fully utilized or analysed, this discipline is very new and full of potential for the future.

Appendix

3-1 Ticketing performances by local Taiwanese troupes up to 1920[1]

Date	Troupe	Genre	Theatre or Location of temporary stage
1908.01	Three *kuann-im* troupes in the island	*lan-than*	Tsóo-su Temple in Báng-kah (艋舺[2]祖師廟)
1909.07	A troupe from Taichung (台中班)	Unknown	Great Má-tsóo Temple in Tainan (台南大媽祖宮)
1910.02	Giók-kì Troupe in Tainan	*lan-than*	Tainan Theatre (台南座)
1911.08	Tai[55]iung[11]fung[55] in Zhongli (中壢大榮鳳)	*xi-pin*	Má-tsóo Temple near West Gate in Hsinchu (新竹西門天后宮)
1913.06	Sù-tông-tshun Sió-lê-hn̂g (四同春小麗園)	*tshit-tsu-pan*/*lam-kuan*	Lotus-Pond Street in Báng-kah (艋舺蓮花池街)
1913.12			Tam-tsui Theatre
1914.11	A glove puppet troupe (掌中班)	glove puppet	Great Stage in Tainan

[1] This table is based on "Rizhi shiqi Taiwan baokan xiqu ziliao jiansuo guangdie" with reference to Hsu, "Rizhi shiqi neitai xiban kaobian" 日治時期內台戲班考辨 (An Investigation and Clarification on Troupes in Commercial Theatres during Japanese Colonial Period), *Rizhi shiqi Taiwan xiqu,* pp. 151-209.

[2] Báng-kah corresponds to the Wanhua 萬華 district in Taipei.

1912. 03	Sió-lô-thian in Tainan (台南小羅天)	Beijing opera	Emperor Kuan Temple in Emperor-Kuan Subprefecture, Tainan (台南關帝支廳關帝廟)
1912.09			Great Má-tsóo Temple in Tainan
1913.04			Great Stage in Tainan
1914.04			Great Stage in Tainan
1915.10			behind East Market in Chiayi (嘉義東市場後)
1915.11			Great Stage in Tainan
1915.09	Û-lo̍k-hn̂g in Chiayi (嘉義餘樂園)	Beijing opera	South Gate in Chiayi (嘉義南門)
1915.10			East Market in Chiayi
1916.01	Seu[31]iung[11]fung[55] in Zhongli (中壢小榮鳳)	*xi-pin*	Water Deity Temple along Gio̍k-tiân Street in Keelung (基隆玉田街水仙宮)
1916.03			Keelung Theatre (基隆座)

1914.01	Kim-pó-hing from Tainan (台南金寶興)	*tshit-tsu-pan*/*lam-kuan*	Tam-tsui Theatre
1919.02		*tshit-tsu-pan*/*lam-kuan* and Beijing opera[3]	New Stage in Taipei
1919.03			In front of Saint Prince Temple along Ē-āu Street near West Gate in Yilan (宜蘭西門下後街聖王宮廟前)
1920.02-03			Bang-kah Theatre (艋舺戲園)
1920.04-05			New Stage in Taipei
1916.07	Íng-lo̍k Siā from Taoyuan (桃園永樂社)	Beijing opera	New Stage in Taipei
1916.07			Ki-san Teahouse in Jiufen (九份基山茶園)
1917.03~04			New Stage in Taipei
1917.06			New Stage in Taipei
1918.01			Má-tsóo Temple in Yilan (宜蘭街天后宮)
1918.05			Treasure Theatre in Taichung (台中街寶座)
1918.05			New Stage in Taipei
1918.05~06			Temple of Lord of Heaven in Changhua (彰化天公壇)

[3] Kim-pó-hing troupe began to increase Beijing opera performance from 1919.

1918.07			New Stage in Taipei
1917. 02	Guangdong Ngi[11]ngin[11]ien[11] (廣東宜人園)	Beijing opera	Kíng-hok Temple in Taoyuan (桃園景福宮)
1918.08	Sió-kím-hûn from Xiangshan, Hsinchu (新竹香山小錦雲班)	*tshit-tsu-pan*/*lam-kuan*	New Stage in Taipei
1918.07	Kiōng-lo̍k-hn̂g, *tshit-tsu-pan* (共樂園七子班)	*tshit-tsu-pan*/*lam-kuan*	New Stage in Taipei
1918.10			New Stage in Taipei
1920.01			Bang-kah Theatre
1919.12~ 1920.01	Kim-khìng-tik *tshit-tsu-pan* from Lugang (鹿港金慶德七子班)	*tshit-tsu-pan*/*lam-kuan* and Beijing opera[4]	Bang-kah Theatre
1919.01	Hōng-bú Siā in Taipei (臺北鳳舞社)	Beijing opera	New Stage in Taipei
1919.06.			Rising Sun Theatre in Taipei (台北朝日座)
1919.06.			New Stage in Taipei
1919.08.			New Stage in Taipei
1919.08-09			Hsinchu Theatre (新竹座)
1919.09			Chiayi Theatre (嘉義座)
1919.11-12			Bang-kah Theatre

[4] Kim-khìng-tik troupe was able to perform Beijing opera as well.

1920.01-02			New Stage in Taipei
1920.06			Bang-kah Theatre
1920.07-08			Kíng-hok Temple in Taoyuan
1920.01	Tsìn-lo̍k-hn̂g (晉樂園)	*tshit-tsu-pan*/*lam-kuan*	Bang-kah Theatre
1920.04	Tāi-ngá-hn̂g from Daxi (大溪大雅園)	Beijing opera	Bang-kah Theatre

3-2 Broadcasting schedules published in newspapers in the pre-war period[5]

Date	Genre marked in newspapers	Classification in newspapers	Possible genre according to plays
1929.01.14	Beijing opera (京調)	Chinese music (中國音樂)	
1929.01.14	Fuzhou music (閩音)	Chinese music (中國音樂)	Fuzhou Theatre
1929.01.18	*peh-li* arias (白字曲)	Chinese *peh-li* arias (中華白字曲)	*tshit-tsu-pan*
1929.01.23	northern music (北腔)	Taiwanese music (臺灣音樂)	Beijing opera
	Taiwanese songs (臺灣曲)	No	
1929.01.26	No	Chinese music (中國音樂)	Beijing opera
1929.02.06	vernacular theatre (白話劇)	Chinese vernacular theatre (中國白話劇)	Beijing opera
1929.03.07	No	the island's music (本島音樂)	Beijing opera
1929.03.11	*pak-kuan* (北管)	No	Beijing opera and *pak-kuan*
1929.03.18	No	Chinese music (支那音樂)	*lam-kuan*

[5] This table is based on "Rizhi shiqi Taiwan baokan xiqu ziliao jiansuo guangdie." Many programmes were marked as "Chinese music," "Taiwanese music," "Shanghai music," "Kaohsiung songs" and so on. However, these reports did not explain what kinds of music they are.

1929.04.01	Beijing opera and *pak-kuan* (京音北管音樂)	No	Beijing opera
1929.05.15	No	Shanghai music (上海音樂)	Beijing opera
1929.07.06	Beijing opera (*pak-kuan*) (京調 [北管])	Chinese music (中華音樂)	Beijing opera
1930.01.10	Beijing opera (京調)	No	
1930.01.28	Beijing opera (京調)	No	
1930.01.30	Beijing opera and *pak-kuan* (京音北管)	Chinese music (支那音樂)	
1930.01.30	*bangzi* (梆子)	Chinese music (支那音樂)	
1930.01.30	Others (其他)	Taiwanese music (臺灣音樂)	
1930.04.10	No	Taiwanese music (臺灣音樂)	Beijing opera
1930.04.26	Beijing opera (京調)	Chinese music (支那音樂)	
1930.06.10	No	No	Beijing opera
1930.06.17	No	No	Beijing opera

1930.07.04	No	Chinese music (中國音樂)	Beijing opera or *kua-a-hi*
1930.08.04	Quanzhou *shiyin* (泉什音)	No	
1931.09.03	No	Taiwanese music (臺灣音樂)	Beijing opera and Chinese folksong
1931.11.06	children theatre (兒童劇)		
1933.11.25	*lam-kuan* (南管)	No	
1933.12.24	*lam-kuan* (南管)	No	
1935.06.07	Kaohsiung songs (高雄之小曲)	No	

3-3 *Rensageki* troupes visiting Taiwan in the pre-war period

Year	Opening night	Troupe
1915	27 Mar	Mutsumi Dan 睦團 (Mutsumi Company)
1916	20 Apr	Nakano Joyū Dan 中野女優團 (Nakano Female Company)
1917	01 Jan	Runabāku Joyū Dan ルナバーク女優團 (Runabāku Female Company)
1917	02 Apr	Nakano Joyū Dan
1918	08 May	Futaba Shōkai 二葉商會 (Futaba Company)
1918	04 Sep	Tsubame Kai ツバメ會 (Tsubame Company)
1919	03 May	Futaba Shōkai
1920	22 Feb	Gikyoku Za 戲曲座 (Theatre Company)
1920	Unclear, reported on 25 Nov	Unclear, playing in Sakae Za 榮座 (Sakae Theatre)
1920	05 Dec probably	Setouchi Kai 瀨戶內會 (Setouchi Company)
1921	26 Jul	Shinshō Kagekidan 新正劇團 (Shinshō Company)
1922	Unclear, reported on 25 Jan	Shinsen Za 新泉座 (Shinsen Company)
1922	21 Feb	Yoshida Naramaru ikkō 吉田奈良丸一行 (The company led by Yoshida Naramaru)
1923	Unclear, reported on 7 Jan	Kōka Dan 光華團 (Kōka Company)

1923	Unclear, reported on 21 Feb	Tokugawa Kōkan ikkō 徳川倖貫一行 (The company led by Tokugawa Kōkan)
1924	Unclear, reported on 04 Jan	Unclear
1924	29 May	Medama Matsunosuke ikkō 目玉松之助一行 (The company led by Medama Matsunosuke)
1926	02 Jul	Chōbi ikkō 長尾一行 (The company led by Chōbi)
1927	11 Aug	Nakamura Kaname ichiza 中村かなめ一座 (Nakamura Kaname Company)
1928	5 Feb	Shinjidai Rensageki Tokugawa Kōkan ikkō 新時代連鎖劇徳川倖貫一行 (Shinjidai Rensageki Company, led by Tokugawa Kōkan)
1930	1 Jan	Itō Naminosuke ippa 伊藤浪之助一派 (The school of Itō Naminosuke)
1930	20 Jan	Unclear, probably the Itō company
1933	29 Nov	Kojima Misaminoru ichiza 小島美佐穂一座 (Kojima Misaminoru Company)
1937	22 May	Taiyō Dan 太陽團 (Taiyō Company)

3-4 Surprising cases performed by Chinese troupes[6]

Qingzhusi Huang Zhaizhong qi'an 青竹絲黃宅忠奇案 (Green Bamboo Viper, a Surprising Case of Huang Zhaizhong)[7]

Hangzhou qi'an 杭州奇案 (A Surprising Case in Hangzhou)[8]

Shixiang qi'an 屍箱奇案 (A Surprising Case, a Dead Body in a Chest)[9]

Jieyang qi'an tiebanji 揭陽奇案鐵板記 (A Surprising Case in Jieyang, An Iron Plate)[10]

Chaoyangxian qi'an 潮陽縣奇案 (A Surprising Case in Chaoyang)

Qi'an dishuiji 奇案滴水記 (A Surprising Case, Dripping)

Yuhang qi'an 餘杭奇案 (A Surprising Case in Yuhang)

Shu dai sao jia daqi'an 叔代嫂嫁大奇案 (An Extremely Surprising Case, a Brother-in-law Took the Place of His Sister-in-law to Marry)

Gao Dengbuo qu liangqi daqi'an 高登波娶兩妻大奇案 (An Extremely Surprising Case, Gao Dengbuo Married Two Wives)

Heshang ruxiang qi'an 和尚入箱奇案 (A Surprising Case, a Monk Entered a Chest)

Heishou qi'an 黑手奇案 (A Surprising Case, Dark Hands)

Yitaitai haisi dataitai 姨太太害死大太太 (A Concubine Murdered the Wife)

Raopingxian daqi'an 饒平縣大奇案 (A Extremely Surprising Case in Raoping County)

Changcai zhuangmen qi'an 長財撞門奇案 (A Surprising Case, Changcai Stroke the Door)

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[6] This list is based on "Rizhi shiqi Taiwan baokan xiqu ziliao jiansuo guangdie."
[7] According to introductions, the story happened in the Qing period.
[8] According to introductions, the story happened in the Qing period.
[9] According to introductions, the story happened in the Qing period.
[10] Probably the same work which is recorded by Hsu Ya-Hsiang--*A Surprising Case in Jieyang.* See Hsu, *Rizhi shiqi Zhongguo xiban,* p. 153.

San baishou qi'an 三拜壽奇案 (A Surprising Case, Three Felicitations [on an Elder's Birthday])

Mai zugong qishi qi'an 賣祖公奇事奇案 (A Surprising Case, Selling Forefathers)

Hangzhou caicha qi'an 杭州採茶奇案 (A Surprising Case in Hangzhou, Picking Tea)

採茶奇案

Tianshuixian qi'an 天水縣奇案 (A Surprising Case in Tianshui County)

Tuoche daqi'an 拖車大奇案 (A Surprising Case, a Cart)

Fuzhou qi'an 福州奇案 (A Surprising Case in Fuzhou)

Yangmei liusueibao daqi'an 楊梅六歲報大奇案 (An Extremely Surprising Case, A Red Bayberry, Retribution after Six Years)

Shiqing xianbao 世情現報 (Social Actualities and Immediate Retribution)

Yanping qi'an 延平奇案 (A Surprising Case in Yanping)

Jiangsusheng shuangqin qi'an 江蘇省双親奇案 (A Surprising Case in Jiangsu Province, the Parent)

Shuanghua zimu ziqi qi'an 双花子母子妻奇案 (A Surprising Case, A Pair of Flowers, Son, Mother and Wife)

Sichuan qi'an 四川奇案 (A Surprising Case in Sichuan)

Jiangsu qi'an 江蘇奇案 (A Surprising Case in Jiangsu)

Chaoyangxian qi'an chounue bao 潮陽縣奇案醜虐報 (A Surprising Case in Chaoyang County, Retribution for Evil Mistreatment)

Fenjia qi'an 分家奇案 (A Surprising Case, Dividing Up Family Property)

Gailiang fenjia an 改良分家案 (An Reformed Case, Dividing Up Family Property)

3-5 Social events plays performed by local troupes[11]

Play	Genre marked	Troupe and recorded performing time or phonograph recording
Tongzhou qi'an 通州奇案 (A Surprising Case in Tongzhou, namely, *Divine Retribution for Killing the Son*)	Beijing opera	1917: Íng-lo̍k Siā 永樂社
Green Bamboo Viper, a Surprising Case of Huang Zhaizhong	*tshit-tsu-pan*	1918: Sió-kím-hûn 小錦雲 1918; 1923: Kiōng-lo̍k-hn̂g from Miaoli 苗栗共樂園
	peh-li-hi	1922: Tshing-lo̍k-hn̂g 清樂園
	Unclear	1922: Tông-lo̍k Pan from Hsinchu 新竹同樂班
Xinqi'an baihuating 新奇案百花亭 (A New Surprising Case, Hundreds-of-Flowers Pavilion)	*tshit-tsu-pan*	1922: Kiōng-lo̍k-hn̂g from Miaoli
Xinpai qi'an wuliangxin 新排奇案巫良心 (New Production, A Surprising Case, No Conscience)	*tshit-tsu-pan*	1922: Kiōng-lo̍k-hn̂g from Miaoli
Heshangtou daqi'an 和尚頭大奇案 (An Extremely Surprising Case, a Monk's Head)	Beijing opera	1922: Thian-lo̍k Siā from Taoyuan 桃園天樂社

[11] This table is based on "Rizhi shiqi Taiwan baokan xiqu ziliao jiansuo guangdie," the list in *Taiwan ni okeru Shina engeki kyū Taiwan engekichō* of 1927, and "Rizhi shiqi Changpian Chuban Mulu" 日治時期唱片出版目錄 (A Catalogue of Phonograph Records in Japanese Colonial Period), Xu Li-Sha and Lin Liang-Che, op.cit., pp. 401-423.

Guangdong daqi'an 廣東大奇案 (An Extremely Surprising Case in Guangdong)	*tshit-tsu-pan*; Beijing opera	1923: Kim-po-hing 金寶興
Lianjiangxian qi'an 連江縣奇案 (A Surprising Case in Lianjiang County)	*kau-kah*	1923: Sin-kiat-sing from Hsinchu 新竹新吉陞
Zhejiang qi'an 浙江奇案 (A Surprising Case in Zhejiang)	*lan-than*	1927: Kái-liông-sing Hn̂g 改良陞園
A Surprising Case in Hok-tsiu	*lan-than*	1927: Kái-liông-sing Hn̂g
	peh-li-hi	1922: Tshing-lo̍k-hn̂g from Beitou 北投清樂園
Shanxi qi'an 陝西奇案 (A Surprising Case in Shanxi)	*xi-pin*	1927: Xin^{24}ngog^{5} Ban^{24} 新樂班
	glove puppet	1927: Tông-lo̍k-hian 同樂軒
Suzhou an 蘇州案 (A Case in Suzhou)	*xi-pin*	1927: Xin^{24}ngog^{5} Ban^{24}
Dongqiao an 棟橋案 (A Case along Dong Bridge)	glove puppet	1927: Kím-tshun-lâu Pan 錦春樓班
Huguang qi'an 湖廣奇案 (A Surprising Case in Huguang)	glove puppet	1927: Xin^{24}ngog^{5} Ban^{24}
Baizi huitou 敗子回頭 (Return of the Prodigal Son)	*Haipai* Beijing opera	1927: Kim-po-hing
Li Hongzhang 李鴻章 (Li Hongzhang)	*Haipai* Beijing	1927: Sin-sìng Performing Company

	opera	新勝演藝公司
Boqing bao (Caihua Boqing bao) 薄情報 (採花薄情報) (Divine Retribution for Unfaithfulness)	*xi-pin*	1927: Hóng-Tn̂g Thuân 仿唐團
	peh-li-hi	1927: Tik-ì Siā 得意社 1922: Tshing-l̍k-hn̂g from Beitou 1923: Sin-tshái-hûn Pan 新彩雲班
Shan'e bao 善惡報 (Divine Retribution for Good and Evil)	*lan-than*	1927: Íng-hok-hian Pan 永福軒班
	peh-li-hi	1927: Tik-ì Siā 得意社 in Tainan
Xianbao ji 現報記 (Immediate Divine Retribution) *Yanqian bao* 眼前報 (Divine Retribution in front of Eyes) *Tianli liangxin* 天理良心 (Justice and Conscience)	glove puppet	1927: Sin-tshái-hûn
Lienü bao 烈女報 (Rewards for a Chaste Lady)	*peh-li-hi*	1927: Tik-sìng Pan 得勝班
Lianjie bao 廉節報 (Rewards for Incorruptibility and Chastity) *Tian'gong bao* 天公報 (Reward and Retribution from Lord of Heaven)	*peh-li-hi*	1922: Reformed *Peh-li-hi* 改良白字戲

3-6 Japanese opera troupes visiting Taiwan

Year	Opening night	Troupes
1917	27 Oct	Nippon Kageki Kyōkai
1918	20 Feb	Shōkyokusai Tenka
1919	09 Mar	Kokuka Za 國華座 (Kokuka Company)
1919	27 Oct	Shōkyokusai Tenkatsu
1920	01 Apr	Shōkyokusai Tenka
1920	07 May	Tokyo Kageki Za
1921	07 Feb	Arita Yōkōkai no majutsu kageki dan 有田洋行會の魔術歌劇團 (A magic opera company introduced by Arita Foreign Business Firm)[12]
1921	Unclear (reported on 16 Oct)	Tokyo Mirai Za 東京ミライ座 (Tokyo Mirai Company)
1924	18 Jun	Shōkyokusai Tenka
1926	16 Mar	Shōjo Kageki Suzuran Za 少女歌劇スズラン座 (Young Girls' Opera, Suzuran Company)
1926	11 Nov	Itaria Opera Ongaku Dan to Kansai Shōjo Kageki Dan 伊太利オペラ音樂團と關西少女歌劇團 (Italy Opera Music Company and Kansai Young Girls' Opera Company)
1927	06 Jun	Tokyo Shōjo Kageki Dan
1929	03 Apr	Nippon Shōjo Kageki Dan 日本少女歌劇團 (Japan Young Girls' Opera Company)
1931	01 Jan	Shōkyokusai Tenka

[12] The name of this troupe was unclear.

1931	01 Jan	Nippon Shōjo Kageki Dan
1931	24 Jan	Tōto Revyū Dan 東都レヴュー團 (Tōto Revue Company)
1931	20 Apr	Takamatsu Shōjo Kageki Dan 高松少女歌劇團 (Takamatsu Young Girls' Opera Company)
1931	04 May	Hata Shōjo Kageki Dan 羽田少女歌劇團 (Hata Young Girls' Opera Company)
1932	Unclear (reported on 28 Jan)	Shōjo Kageki Suzuran Za
1933	26 May	Hata Shōjo Kageki Dan
1935	17 Feb	Shōchiku Shōjo Kageki Dan
1936	15 Feb	Tokyo Kageki Za
1936	29 Mar	Nippon Shōjo Kageki
1937	01 Jan	Tokyo Kageki Za
1937	19 Apr	Shōchiku Shōjo Kageki Dan
1937	06 May	Hata Shōjo Kageki Dan
1937	21 Jun	Marutama Shōjo Kageki マルタマ少女歌劇 (Marutama Young Girls' Opera)
1937	08 Aug	Adachi Kageki Dan アダチ歌劇團 (Adachi Opera Company)
1938	01 Jan	Tokyo Shōjo Kageki Dan
1938	17 Nov	Nippon Shōjo Kageki
1939	08 Jan	Tokyo Shōjo Kageki Dan
1939	17 Aug	Kororachura･Soburano コロラチュラ･ソブラ (Coloratura Soprano)

1939	11 Nov	Nippon Shōjo Kageki
1940	04 Sep	Shōchiku Shōjo Kageki Dan
1940	17 Nov	Nippon Shōjo Kageki

3-7 Social events plays in Taiwanese reformed theatre

Play	Troupe and recorded performing time or phonograph recording
Tongzhou qi'an 通州奇案 (A Surprising Case in Tongzhou, namely, *Divine Retribution for Killing the Son*)	Around the 1930s: Phonograph recordings by Taihei 泰平 company
A Surprising Case in Hok-tsiu	1926: Tan-kuì Siā 丹桂社 Around the 1930s: Phonograph recordings by Columbia company
Guangdong an 廣東案 (A Case in Guangdong)	1927: Lû-ì Siā 如意社
Quanzhou qi'an 泉州奇案 (A Surprising Case in Quanzhou)	1927: Hȧp-sīng Hn̂g 合盛園
Xiao Juguan tongjian haifu 蕭菊觀通姦害夫 (Xiao Juguan Committed Adultery and Murdered Her Husband)	Around the 1930s: Phonograph recordings by Taihei company
Buoqing bao (*Caihua buoqing bao*) 薄情報 (採花薄情報) (Divine Retribution for Unfaithfulness)	Around the 1930s: Phonograph recordings by Columbia, Okeh 奧稽 and Guȧt-hóo 月虎 companies
Shan'e bao 善惡報 (Divine Retribution for Good and Evil)	1927: Tik-ì Siā 得意社 in Taichung
Lienü bao 烈女報 (Rewards for a Chaste Lady)	1927: Hiȧp-sìng Siā Lâm-lú Thuân 協勝社男女團 1927: Sing-iông Hn̂g 星洋園

Lishi bao 立誓報 (Reward and Retribution for a Vow)	Around the 1930s: Phonograph recordings by Popular 博友樂 company
Hangzhou bao 杭州報 (Divine Retribution in Hangzhou)	Around the 1930s: Phonograph recordings by Kirin 麒麟 company

4-1 Advertisements and reports on *peh-li-hi*[13]

Date	Troupe and additional remarks	Theatre	Plays which are the same with *tshit-tsu-pan* in southern Fujian[14] (with additional remarks)	Plays which are different from *tshit-tsu-pan* in southern Fujian (with additional remarks)
1919.02.11	Kim-pó-hing from Tainan (*peh-li* of *lam-kuan*) 臺南金寶興班（南音白字）	New Stage in Tuā-tiū-tiânn, Taipei, namely Tam-tsui Theatre	Day: 3.[15] Shoujiu Played 三、壽久弄 Night: 3. A Fairy Picked Flowers 三、仙女採花	D: 1. An Article Rally 2. Hundreds-of-Herbs Mountain 一、文章大會 二、百草山 N: 1. Chentang Fortress; Nuozha Messed up Eastern Sea 2. A Blind Man Caught His Wife Red-handed 一、陳塘關哪吒鬧東海 二、瞽子捉姦
1919.02.13	Kim-pó-hing from	New Stage	D: 2. Cuiping Mountain	D: 1. Y-Junction 一、三叉口

[13] The plays in the table are taken mostly from advertisements or reports in the *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*. Different sources are noted in the table.

[14] According to "Liyuanxi yu Song Yuan Xiwen jumu zhi bijiao yanjiu" 梨園戲與宋元戲文劇目之比較研究 (A Comparison between Plays of Liyuanxi and of Xiwen in Song and Yuan Dynasties) of Yin-Chen Kang in 2006, pp. 17-35, and the comparison between news of *tshit-tsu-pan* from Quanzhou and of local troupes (news was mainly from *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*).

[15] The numbers refer to the sequence of a play in a show.

	Tainan		3. Boating on Red Cliff River 二、翠屏山 三、遊赤壁江 N: 2. Lü Mengzheng Threw Silk Ball 二、呂蒙正拋繡球	N: 1. Attack Xudu 一、伐許都
1920.01.09	Co-performances of Kiōng-lo̍k-hn̂g and Tsìn-lo̍k-hn̂g troupes from Hsinchu of reformed *peh-li* and *tshit-tsu-pan* 新竹改良白字七子班共樂園及晉樂園合演	Bang-kah Theatre in Taipei	D: a complete play consisting of Take Wooden Stick and White-Tiger Hall 取木棍連白虎堂全本	N: Liu Hanqing Bought a Golden Carp, a complete play 劉漢卿買金色鯉魚全本
1922.04	*peh-li-hi* of	New Stage	D: Liu Shichun	N: A special production:

.20	*lam-kuan* of Tshing-lo̍k-hîng troupe 清樂園南管白字戲	in Tuā-tiū-tiânn, Taipei	saved His Master 劉世春救主	civil tragedy, Tsîn Sè-bí 特排秦世美文明悲劇
1922.04.21	*peh-li-hi* of Tshing-lo̍k-hîng troupe 清樂園白字戲	New Stage	N: An'an Stored up Rice for His Parent, Three Filial Children in a Family 一門三孝安安積米奉親	D: Unicorn Mountain 麒麟山
1922.04.22	*peh-li-hi* of *lam-kuan* of Tshing-lo̍k-hîng troupe from Beitou 北投清樂園南管白字戲	New Stage		D: Four Fairies Tamed a Duck Spirit 四仙姑收水鴨精 N: a complete play, Shuiyuanhai 水元海全本
1922.04.23	*peh-li-hi* of *lam-kuan* of Tshing-lo̍k-hîng troupe from Beitou	New Stage	N: A complete play, Zheng Yuanhe 鄭元和全本	D: Liu Xi Taught His Son 劉錫訓子
1922.04	*peh-li-hi* of	New Stage		D: Liu Xi Taught His Son,

.25	*lam-kuan* of Tshing-lo̍k-hn̂g troupe from Beitou			continued by Chenxiang Opened the Cave 劉錫訓子連下沉香打洞 N: A new production: Má Tsùn Died from Biting His Tongue, then Sam-phik Revived and Conquered Barbarians 新套馬俊咬舌死續三伯回陽征番[16]
1922.04.27	*peh-li-hi* from Beitou 北投白字戲	New Stage	N: Zheng Yuanhe Visited the Courtesan, Li Axian (Beggars Climbed up Iron Sticks) 鄭元和嫖李阿仙(乞丐大上鐵	D: Emperor Taizu of Song Ascended the Throne 宋太祖登基

[16] This play belongs to the story, *San-phik and Ing-tâi* (山伯英台). In the advertisements for Taiwanese classical theatre, "San-phik" was usually written as "Sam-phik" 三伯 or "Sam-phik" 三碧, because "San-phik" and "Sam-phik" are close.
Although *tshit-tsu-pan* has a play from the same story, the advertised plays are unrelated. *Zhu Yingtai* (祝英台) of 1604, collected as an incomplete script in an anthology, *Mantian chun* 滿天春 (All-embracing Spring), is a script that relates to the later *tshit-tsu-pan*; after 1604, the whole play was lost. Until the early 20th century, only a plot "Shijiu nong" 事久弄 (Shijiu Played) (also called Shoujiu nong 壽久弄) was preserved by *tshit-tsu-pan*. On the other hand, the title in the advertisement is "A new production: Má Tsùn died from biting his tongue, then Sam-phik revived and conquered the barbarians" (新套馬俊咬舌死續三伯回陽征番). It points out that the play was a new version, not from *tshit-tsu-pan* of Quanzhou. Further, the plot in which Má Tsùn commits suicide and Sam-phik revives is not seen in the historical literature in southern Fujian.

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1922.04 .28	*peh-li-hi* 白字戲	New Stage		D: Emperor Taizu of Song Ascended the Throne, episode 2 二本宋太祖登基 N: A Picture of Red Cassia 丹桂圖
1922.04 .29	*peh-li-hi*	New Stage		D: Song Emperor the 1st Ascended the Throne, episode 3 三本宋太祖 N: Liu Hanqing Bought a Goldfish 劉漢卿買金魚
1922.04 .30	*peh-li-hi*	New Stage		D: Sam-phik Studied 三碧讀書 N: Sam-phik Revived and Conquered Barbarians 三碧回陽征番 P.S. Today, the play of Sam-phik is from studying to awarded Principal Graduate and conquering barbarians 附記本日夜所演三碧一齣。自讀書起至中狀元征番止。
1922.05	*peh-li-hi*	New Stage		D: A Picture of Eight

.01				Beauties 八美圖 N: A Tale of Paper Horse, continued by Lord Bao Chopped the Emperor's Uncle 紙馬記連下包公斬皇叔
1922.05.02	*peh-li-hi*	New Stage		D: North-Sea Fortress 北海關 N: Lord Bao Chopped Wu Zan 包公斬吳贊
1922.05.03	*peh-li-hi*	New Stage		D: a complete play, Femininity Met Masculinity 陰陽會全本 N: An Extremely Surprising Case in Tainan, the island, Madam Pandanus 本島臺南大奇案林投姐
1922.07.27	*peh-li-hi* of Tshing-lo̍k-hn̂g troupe from Beitou 北投清樂園白字戲	New Stage	N: A complete play, Cut Silk Clothes 剪羅衣全本	D: East-Border Mountain, continued by White-Flowers Mountain 東界山連下白花山
1922.07.28	*peh-li-hi* from Beitou	New Stage		D: Tame Seven Monsters 收七怪

				N: An Octagonal Crystal Tablet, episode 1 頭本八角水晶印
1922.07.29	*peh-li-hi* from Beitou	New Stage		D: A Crow Cried to File a Lawsuit 烏鴉哭狀 N: An Octagonal Crystal Tablet, a continuation 續八角水晶牌
1922.07.30	*peh-li-hi* from Beitou	New Stage	D: Mu Guiying Sought a Husband, continued by Chopping the Son in front of the Barracks Gate 木桂英招親連轅門斬子 N: 24 Stories about Filial Piety: Three Filial Children in a Family, Storing up Rice for the Parent	

			廿四孝一門三孝積米奉親	
1922.07.31	*peh-li-hi* from Beitou	New Stage		D: Ox-Head Mountain, continued by Liujia Village 牛頭山連柳家庄 N: A complete play, Emperor Zhengde Traveled in Shandong 正德君遊山東全本
1922.08.01	*peh-li-hi* from Beitou	New Stage		D: Han Emperor Chose His Queen 漢王選正宮 N: Sam-phik and Ing-tâi, the former episode 三伯英臺上本
1922.08.03	*peh-li-hi* from Beitou	New Stage	N: a complete play, Zheng Yuanhe Visited the Courtesan, Li Axian 鄭元和嫖李阿仙全本	D: a complete play, Liu Xi Taught His Son 劉錫訓子全本
1922.08.04	*peh-li-hi* from Beitou	New Stage		D: Lu Yuezeng Borrowed Clothes 魯岳增借衣 N: A Surprising Case in Tainan, Madam Pandanus

				臺南奇案林投姐
1922.08 .05	*peh-li-hi* from Beitou	New Stage		D: Scorpion Spirit 水蝎精 N: Tsîn Sè-bí Didn't Admit His Ex-wife 秦世美不認前妻
1922.08 .06	*peh-li-hi* from Beitou	New Stage		D: a complete play, North-Sea Fortress 北海關全本 N: Tāi-sùn Tilled the Land 大舜耕田
1922.08 .07	*peh-li-hi* from Beitou	New Stage		D: Princess Jiang Messed up Unicorn Temple 姜妃大鬧麒麟寺 N: a complete play, Shuiyuanhai, continued by Shui Guoxiang Met with His Mother 水元海連下水國祥會母全本
1922.08 .08	*peh-li-hi* from Beitou	New Stage	D: a complete play, Xizhi Mountain 全本西支山	N: a complete play, A Picture of Red Cassia 全本丹桂圖
1922.08 .09	*peh-li-hi* from Beitou	New Stage	N: A new production: Gao Yanzhen	D: Divine Retribution for Unfaithfulness 薄情報

			新排高顏真	
1922.08 .11	*peh-li-hi* from Beitou	New Stage		D: Conquer An'nan 平安南 N: A Tale of Paper Horse, the former episode 上本紙馬記
1922.08 .11	*peh-li-hi* from Beitou	New Stage		D: Eight Beauties Vanquished Money Mountain 八美大破金錢山 N: A Tale of Paper Horse, the later episode; Cao Cao Threatened the Royal Family 下本紙馬記曹操迫宮
1922.08 .12	*peh-li-hi* from Beitou	New Stage		D: Python Mountain 蟠蛇山 N: Pick up a Delicate Handkerchief 拾錦帕
1922.08 .13	*peh-li-hi* from Beitou	New Stage		D: A Jewel Shirt 珍珠衣 N: Liu Hanqing Bought a Goldfish 劉漢卿買金魚
1922.08 .14	*peh-li-hi* from Beitou	New Stage	N: Cai Duan Built Luoyang Bridge 蔡端造洛陽橋	D: a complete play, Wang Shaolan 王紹蘭全本
1922.08	*peh-li-hi*	New Stage		a complete play, A Tale of

.15	from Beitou			Butterfly; Liu Tingying Sold Himself 蝴蝶記全本 劉廷英賣身
1922.08 .16	*peh-li-hi* from Beitou	New Stage		D: Sam-phik Died of Lovesickness 三碧想思死 N: continued by Shanbi Revived 連續三碧回陽
1922.08 .17	*peh-li-hi* from Beitou	New Stage		D: A Filial Daughter-in-law Pushed a Mill 孝婦挨磨 N: Miao Fengying Borrowed a Dead Body to Revive 苗鳳英借屍回陽
1922.08 .18	*peh-li-hi* from Beitou	New Stage		D: a complete play, Femininity Met Masculinity 陰陽會全本 N: A Surprising Case in Hok-tsiu, a Bitter Soul Revenged 福州奇案冤魂報仇
1922.10 .25	Reformed *peh-li-hi* 改良白字戲	New Stage		D: Rewards for Incorruptibility and Chastity 廉節報 N: Rewards and Retribution

				from Lord of Heaven 天公報
1922.10.29	Reformed *peh-li-hi*	New Stage	N: Goo-niu Jumped into an Old Well, then Iah-tshun Filed a Lawsuit 五娘跳古井連益春告狀	D: a complete play, Golden □Head 全本金□頭
1922.10.30	Reformed *peh-li-hi*	New Stage		D: Yang Sanxiao 楊三笑 N: An Octagonal Crystal Tablet 八角水晶牌
1923.07.01 Tainan shinpō 台南新報 (Tainan News)	*peh-li-hi* of Sin-tshái-hûn troupe 新彩雲班白字戲	Great Stage in Tainan		D: Divine Retribution for Unfaithfulness 薄情報 N: Meng Lijun (continued by episode 3 at tomorrow night) 孟麗君（明夜續三本）
1923.07.02 Tainan News	*peh-li-hi* of Sin-tshái-hûn troupe	Great Stage		D: A Crow Filed a Lawsuit 烏鴉告狀 N: Meng Lijun, episode 3 (continued by episode 4 at tomorrow night)

				孟麗君三本（明夜續四本）
1923.07.03 Tainan News	*peh-li-hi* of Sin-tshái-hûn troupe	Great Stage		D: White-Flowers Mountain 白花山 N: Meng Lijun, episode 4 (continued by episode 5 at tomorrow night) 孟麗君四本（明夜續五本）
1923.07.04 Tainan News	*peh-li-hi* of Sin-tshái-hûn troupe	Great Stage		D: Emperor Qianlong Traveled Jiangnan 乾隆君遊江南 N: Meng Lijun, episode 5 (continued by episode 6 at tomorrow night) 孟麗君五本（明夜續六本）
1923.07.05 Tainan News	*peh-li-hi* of Sin-tshái-hûn troupe	Great Stage		D: The Five Sons Cried in front of the Tomb 五子哭墓 N: Meng Lijun, episode 6 (continued by episode 7 at tomorrow night) 孟麗君六本（明夜續七本）
1923.07.06 Tainan News	*peh-li-hi* of Sin-tshái-hûn troupe	Great Stage		D: A Pair of Dragons 雙龍駕 N: Meng Lijun Took off Her Shoes 孟麗君脫靴
1923.09	*peh-li-hi* of	New Stage		D: A Pair of Green Cups, the

.11	Kím-siōng-hua troupe 錦上花班白字戲			former episode 雌雄綠盃記前本 N: Aroma from Clouds, the Platform of Hundreds of Flowers, the later episode 雲外飄香百花臺後本 A Handkerchief with a Picture of Mandarin Ducks Playing in the Water, the former episode 鴛鴦戲水帽[17]前本
1923.09.12	*peh-li-hi* of Kím-siōng-hua troupe	New Stage		D: A Pair of Jade Cups 雌雄玉杯記 N: A Handkerchief with a Picture of Mandarin Ducks Playing in the Water 鴛鴦戲水帕
1923.09.14	*peh-li-hi* of Kím-siōng-hua troupe	New Stage		D: Green Cups, the later episode 綠盃記後本 N: Pick up a Delicate Handkerchief 什[18]絹帕
1923.09.16	*peh-li-hi* of Kím-siōng-hua troupe	New Stage		D: Qiu Junbei Chopped Up His Son, the former episode 邱君備斬子上本

[17] This is a misprint in the original text. The correct word should be "帕."
[18] This is a misprint in the original text. The correct word should be "拾."

				N: the later episode 同下本
1923.09.17	*peh-li-hi* of Kím-siōng-hua troupe	New Stage	N: Four Delicate Skirts, the former episode 四幅錦裙上本	D: Three Kinds of Treasure 三寶記
1923.09.18	*peh-li-hi* of Kím-siōng-hua troupe	New Stage	N: Four Delicate Skirts, the later episode 四幅錦裙下本	D: Dong Liangcai 董良才
1924.04.16	*peh-li-hi*	Íng-lo̍k Theatre in Taipei	D: Zhaojun Married a Barbarian 招君和審[19] N: Three Persons, Tân Sann, etc. Escaped; ending at Interrogate Tân Sann and Marry Gōo-niû 陳三三人走□至審陳三娶五娘止	

[19] This is a misprint in the original text. The correct word should be "番."

1924.04.17	*peh-li-hi*	Íng-lo̍k Theatre	D: White-Tiger Hall 白虎堂 N: a complete play, Teach Siong Lōo P.S. The play starts from Cut the Loom to Teach the Son and ends at Siong Lōo Stood First on the Pass Lists of the Provincial, Metropolitan and Final Examinations and Chopping Wenxi 全本訓商路 附記訓商路之劇。即對斷機教子起至中三元斬文希止	

1924.05.31	*peh-li-hi* of Kím-siōng-hua troupe, Quanzhou City 泉郡錦上花[20]白字戲	Íng-lo̍k Theatre		D: a complete play, A Picture of Three Beauties 三美圖全本 N: a complete play, Burning the Platform of Hundreds of Flowers 火燒百花臺全本
1924.06.01	*peh-li-hi* of Kím-siōng-hua troupe, Quanzhou City	Íng-lo̍k Theatre		D: a complete play, Jinkui Star 金魁星全本 N: A Tale about Loyalty, Filial Piety, Chastity and Righteousness, the former episode 忠孝節義傳上本
1924.06.02	*peh-li-hi* of Kím-siōng-hua troupe, Quanzhou City	Íng-lo̍k Theatre		D: Racoon for a Prince, episode 1 狸貓換太子一本 N: A Tale about Loyalty, Filial Piety, Chastity and Righteousness, episode 2 忠孝節義傳二本
1924.06.07	*peh-li-hi* of Kím-siōng-hua troupe, Quanzhou City	Íng-lo̍k Theatre		D: Racoon for a Prince, episode 6 狸貓換太子六本 N: A Blood Letter and a Bite Mark, episode 4 血書牙痕記四本

[20] Although there was "Quanzhou City" (泉郡) in the name of this troupe, it was in fact a local troupe from Taichung.

1924.06.08	*peh-li-hi* of Kím-siōng-hua troupe, Quanzhou City	Íng-lo̍k Theatre		D: Racoon for a Prince, episode 7 狸貓換太子七本 N: A Blood Letter and a Bitten Mark, episode 5 血書牙痕記五本
1924.06.09	*peh-li-hi* of Kím-siōng-hua troupe, Quanzhou City	Íng-lo̍k Theatre		D: Racoon for a Prince, episode 8 狸貓換太子八本 N: A Blood Letter and a Bitten Mark, episode 6 血書牙痕記六本
1924.06.12	*peh-li-hi* of Kím-siōng-hua troupe, Quanzhou City	Íng-lo̍k Theatre		D: Zhou Cang Tamed a Carp Spirit 周倉收鯉魚精 a complete play, A Criminal Case for Lord Bao, Eight Clothes 包公案八件衣全本 N: Cold-River Fortress (Lihua Sought a Husband), continuous 3 episodes 寒江關（梨花招親）連續三本 a complete play, Seven Swords and Thirteen Swordsmen 七劍十三俠全部
1924.12.19	the male and female	Íng-lo̍k Theatre		D: Plum Blossoms, an Extreme Family Tragedy

	troupe of reformed *peh-li* 白字改良男女班			梅花記家廷大悲劇 N: A special production: An Octagonal Crystal Tablet, the former episode 特排八角水晶牌上本
1924.12.22	the male and female troupe of reformed *peh-li*	Íng-lo̍k Theatre		D: A Chaste Lady 烈女記 N: Niû Sam-phik and Tsiok Ing-tâi, episode 1 頭本梁三伯祝英臺
1924.12.25	the male and female troupe of reformed *peh-li*	Íng-lo̍k Theatre		D: A Chaste Lady, episode 4, Return Home and Reunion 四本烈女記回家團圓 N: Niû Sam-phik Revived, episode 4, continued by Visit Relatives 四本梁三伯回陽連探親止
1924.12.28	the male and female troupe of reformed *peh-li*	Íng-lo̍k Theatre	A special production: Siong Lōo was Awarded as Principle Graduate, continued by	D: A new production: A Bottle, a complete play 新排酒瓶記全本 N: Occupying Chengdu 取城[21]都

[21] This is a misprint in the original text. The correct word should be "成."

			Chopping Wenxi 特排商輅中狀元連斬文禧	
1924.12.29	the male and female troupe of reformed *peh-li*	Íng-lo̍k Theatre		D: A new production: A Pair of Pagoda Trees, a complete play 新排雙槐樹全本 N: Lotus Convent, a reformed play 改良蓮花庵
1924.12.31	*peh-li* troupe 白字班	Íng-lo̍k Theatre		D: A Precious Cloth, the former episode 上本寶衣記 N: Tāi-sùn Tilled the Land, episode 2 二本大舜耕田
1925.07.19	the male and female troupe of reformed *peh-li* 改良白字男女班	Íng-lo̍k Theatre		D: Tāi-sùn Tilled the Land, episode 2 大舜耕田二本 N: Hurt the Husband and Complain about the Son, an extreme tragedy 害夫怨子大苦
1925.07.2	the male and female troupe of reformed *peh-li*	Íng-lo̍k Theatre	N: Teach Siong Lōo 訓商露	D: A Chaste Lady 烈女記

1925.07.24	the male and female troupe of reformed *peh-li*	Íng-lo̍k Theatre		D: A Chaste Lady, Final Reunion 烈女記大傳圓 N: Má Tsùn Married, continued by Sam-phik Revived 馬俊娶親三伯回陽
1925.07.19 (It was report-ed on 08.16)	*peh-li-hi* of Kím-siōng-hua troupe, Quanzhou City	Great Stage in Tainan		Burning the Platform of Hundreds of Flowers 火燒百花臺
1927.10.07	Reformed *peh-li-hi* of An-pó-siā from Ē-pi-thâu 下埤頭安保社改良白字戲	Tíng-tshù Village, Gû-poo-á 牛埔仔頂厝庄		Liu Hanqing Bought a Goldfish 劉漢卿買金魚

5-1 The Columbia records, *Tsiu Sîng Sailed for Taiwan* summary

Scene 1

Tsiu Sîng, his wife, Guát-lí, and his father Tsiu Un 周溫 comes on. Tsiu Sîng tells the family that he hopes to sail for Taiwan to seek opportunities. Guát-lí borrows travelling expenses for him. Guát-lí saw Sîng off at the Quanzhou port.

Scene 2

Tsiu Sîng is on the ship. The ship passes Hóo-bué 虎尾 port. Seeing the sea, Tsiu Sîng feels upset. Then the ship arrives at Taipei. Sîng occasionally meets a friend from his hometown and then follows him to sell groceries.

Scene 3

Tsiu Sîng's business runs steadily. He starts to go to the red-light district. He meets Kueh A-mī 郭阿麵 and becomes infatuated with her. He continually visits A-mī every night and cannot pay attention to his business. Before long, his business fails. When he wants to visit A-mī again, the madam drives him away and then calls bodyguards to beat him. Insulted mentally and physically, Sîng decides to commit suicide.

Scene 4

Tsiu Sîng weeps and comes to a port. About to jump into the water, he finds another man with the same intention. He stops the man and asks him for his reason. The man, Ông Kun, has had the same experience. He left home for collecting payments of bills for his father. Then he spent the money in the red-light district and is forcibly removed, so he will commit suicide as well. Fellow sufferers have mutual sympathy; they ask after each other's background. Then they swear to be brothers and Ông Kun

is glad to invite Sîng to his home in Sin-poo 新埔.

Scene 5

Ông Kun brings Sîng home and tells his father that Sîng has saved his life. Out of gratefulness, the father wants to sponsor the two young men to operate a tea company in Tiâu-iông Street 朝陽街, Tuā-tiū-tiânn 大稻埕. Their business quickly grows.

Scene 6

Sîng's tea business is very successful. He still misses A-mī. He clearly decides to abandon his wife and family. He spends 3000 dollars to marry (or in fact, to buy) A-mī.

Scene 7

Tsiu Un is very ill in home. Guát-lí tries hard to comfort him and to support the family. But Tsiu Un ultimately dies. Guát-lí resents Tsiu Sîng for his ruthlessness and said that she prefers no husband.

Scene 8

Guát-lí departs home to look for her husband. She says that she is forced to sail for Taiwan, again showing a fear of the sea. The ship arrives at Hōo-bué 滬尾. Guát-lí has no money to take a car, therefore she can only walk to Tuā-tiū-tiânn. Because both Guát-lí and her new born baby are hungry, she decides to beg for food during the journey.

Scene 9

Guát-lí finally arrives at Tuā-tiū-tiânn. She finds Tsiu Sîng's tea shop, and first meets

the assistant, A-thâu 阿頭. A-thâu does not believe this poor beggar is the boss's wife and drives her out. Tsiu Sîng hears the quarrel and comes out. Guát-lí questions Tsiu Sîng; Tsiu Sîng does not admit that Guát-lí is his wife. Guát-lí scolds Tsiu Sîng for his unfaithfulness. Sîng is shamed into anger, and he gives a stick of rattan to A-thâu and demands him to beat Guát-lí and then returns to a back room. Ông Kun hears the noise and goes out. He stops A-thâu and then asks Guát-lí the cause. He believes Guát-lí's story and then leads Guát-lí to another room to rest. Ông Kun wants to help Guát-lí, but is also afraid of Sîng's new wife, A-mī.

Scene 10

A-thâu tells A-mī of the event. A-mī says that she will not share her husband with another woman and asks Sîng to divorce Guát-lí. Then she calls Sîng. She blames Sîng for deceiving her and then questions how he will deal with this problem. Sîng replies that it was all up to her, and since their family is all under her power, she should not be unhappy. Hearing this, A-mī quickly decides to murder Guát-lí.

Scene 11

A-thâu carries a bowl of soup poisoned by A-mī to Guát-lí. Without suspecting, Guát-lí drinks it. Then she begins to feel a pain in her stomach. She finally realizes everything. She scolds Sîng and A-mī, and vows that her ghost will seek revenge. She stares at her baby and tells him to avenge his mother when he grows up. After Guát-lí dies, A-thâu reports to A-mī; Amin demands A-thâu to throw Guát-lí's body into well, and then she will prepare for a celebration tomorrow.

Scene 12

A-mī holds a banquet in the garden. When the couple is celebrating, Guát-lí's ghost

climbs out of the well. She captures Sîng and demands him to carry a kitchen knife. Sîng is then forced by the ghost to stab A-mī and A-thâu to death. At last, he stabs himself. Afterwards, Ông Kun enters and sees the most horrible scene. He soon understands Guát-lí's revenge and promises to the souls of Guát-lí and Sîng to raise their son.

5-2 The Columbia records, *A Chaste Lady in Tainan* summary

Scene 1

The main female character, Tân Siù-niû 陳秀娘 comes on. She describes herself to be married to Lîm Thiam-siū 林添壽 as a little girl. When it comes to her husband and their relationship, she describes her husband's incompetence and that they are "a couple without affinity" (無緣夫妻). When Siù-niû sings after her self-introduction, the lyrics show that Thiam-siū's incompetence is due to his addiction to opium.

Scene 2

Tiunn Khai-tshiong 張開昌, a private advisor to the Tainan Prefect comes on. He is going to visit his lover, Thiam-tī 添治, Siù-niû's sister-in-law. When he passes along the riverbank, he finds Siù-niû washing clothes in the river. Then when Khai-tshiong finds her, he is infatuated with her at the moment and decides to take possession of this pure woman.

Scene 3

Tiunn calls at Lîm's house and tells Thiam-tī his idea. Thiam-tī begs him not to do so. The line also discloses that her virginity has been taken away by Tiunn. But Tiunn remains unmoved. He makes the excuse that he sympathizes with Lîm's family for its lack a strong man as a family pillar, as a result, Siù-niû has had no real husband to rely on. He then threatens Thiam-tī that he would break off their relationship if Thiam-tī does not obey him. Further, he threatens that he would break the "wine cups and chopsticks" of Lîm's family. Then the mother of the family, surnamed Ngôo 吳, comes on. Thiam-tī discusses this affair with her mother. Ngôo does not accept it at first, but then they are threatened by Tiunn again. Finally, she accepts the demand. Ngôo calls Siù-niû to tell her of this affair; Siù-niû refuses, but is immediately locked

up in a room.

Scene 4

Siù-niû is locked up in a room. She cries and sings a song to complain that, because of her husband's incompetence, she is forced to "marry" to another man. Then she complains that her mother-in-law and sister-in-law ignore the son for money, and that because of money, one's life or death are all disregarded. (有錢不管人生死). Tiunn enters the room; Siù-niû begs him to sympathize with her, since she is as lonely as a widow, without other family members to comfort her and is tortured by mother-in-law and sister-in-law. Tiunn demands her to obey otherwise he will force her with violence. Under the threat, Siù-niû instead turns strong and harshly lectures Tiunn on his scandal with Thiam-tī; she describes his heart as feculent, even dogs would not smell, and that he is inferior to a pig, a dog and other animals. They argue intensively, and then Siù-niû bites Tiunn and draws blood; he calls the other women to save him. The other three characters, Ngôo, Thiam-tī and Thiam-siū enter. The mother scolds the daughter-in-law; the daughter even suggests stabbing Siù-niû to death with scissors. The son can only suggest that his mother and sister to persuade Siù-niû with a kinder expressions and not to kill her. After an intensive fight, Siù-niû is stabbed. Seeing this, Thiam-siū can only weep, but dares not to cry out. Then the mother demands the son to deal with the dead body. The son is scared of the bloody body; instead, the daughter is unconcerned and automatically assists carrying out the body on her shoulder and washes the blood from the floor. Furthermore, the mother even threatens the son that if he dares to talk to others, she will kill him as well.

Scene 5

Siù-niû's parents come on. Siù-niû's mother, surnamed Ông 王, describes that she

feels disturbed and is worried about their daughter. Then when they are asleep, Siù-niû's ghost appears in the mother's dream. She tells the whole story and asks her mother to file a lawsuit. The mother wakes up and tells Siù-niû's father, Tân Ún 陳允. While they are between believing and suspicion, next morning, the Security Group Head calls on them to tell he had a similar dream. They decide to go to the law court.

Scene 6

Tân Ún and his wife Ngôo confront each other in the law court. The Tainan Prefect believes Khai-tshiong, his private advisor, and hence rejects Tân Ún's lawsuit. The Security Group Head and the neighbourhood refuse to accept it; they follow Chen to enter the court again. On behalf of the public, the Security Group Head asks for a fair trial. He questions Ngôo as to why Siù-niû died accidentally and was buried immediately before her original family was informed. Ngôo denies that Siù-niû died of an acute infectious disease and had to be buried immediately to prevent infection. The Security Group Head then asks for a postmortem examination. The public pressure effected. After others leave, Khai-tshiong, Ngôo and Thiam-tī discuss whether to bribe the Prefect and the postmortem examiner.

Scene 7

The public gather around the mortuary. Examining the body, the postmortem doctor found many wounds on Siù-niû's body, but he listened to Tiunn's instructions, reporting falsely that there was nothing special. The public does not accept this. Then the Head calls everyone to strike apart the Prefect's sedan chair. The Head decides to collect donations from the public for Chen to go to the higher Fengshang Circuit 鳳山道 to file a lawsuit.

Scene 8

A barber, Iú 友, comes on. He describes that he was addicted to gambling and has lost all of his fortune. But occasionally he meets Siù-niû's ghost, and with her divine help, he wins money rapidly and continually, and he can even afford to build a mansion. In order to repay her for her favour, he donates 1000 silver coins to help the public to redress the Siù-niû's injustice.

Scene 9

In the office, Khai-tshiong is chased by Siù-niû's ghost. The Prefect finds Khai-tshiong frantic. Then the Circuit Intendant arrives. The Prefect wants to call Khai-tshiong but Khai-tshiong has already escaped. The Circuit Intendant interrogates all parties and commands the Headquarter's Functionaries to catch Khai-tshiong.

Scene 10

Khai-tshiong escapes to Anping port. As he boards a ship to Xiamen, Siù-niû's ghost calls him. Khai-tshiong thinks it is Thiam-tī and turns about, and he is caught by the Headquarter's Functionaries at that moment.

Scene 11

After the interrogation, the Circuit Intendant orders the execution of Ngôo, Thiam-tī and Khai-tshiong and dismisses the Prefect from his office.

5-3 The Columbia records, *A Surprising Case in Changhua* summary

Scene 1

Li Sū 李士 came on. He introduces himself as someone living in Pe̍h-sua-khinn 白沙坑 in Changhua county, and then says that he is sick and afraid that he will not live long. His wife, surnamed Kim 金, comforts him and says she would go to collect the land rent for her husband's medical expenses.

Scene 2

Ms. Li 李氏 comes on. She says that she lives near West Gate (西門) in Changhua county. She complains that she married a poor husband, whose job is carrying a sedan chair, and she would rather die. Another woman, surnamed Ông 王 visits her and asks her of what she is complaining. Their following chat is complaints about their poor and incompetent husbands. Then the two women go together to cut pandanus leaves in supplement the family income.

Scene 3

Kim walks under a scorching sun at noon. She finds a forest of big pandanus and decided to escape into the forest from the heat to rest. She hangs her umbrella on a branch and sits under the pandanus, with 200 silver coins of land rent beside her. She soon falls into a comfortable and deep sleep. Kim is found by Li and Ông. Li and Ông are unable to wake Kim up. Then they find the money beside Kim. At the sight of money, Li has an evil thought; she immediately decides to murder Kim. Ông hesitates but still helps to look out. Kim is strangled and buried in the pandanus forest.

Scene 4

Li Sū waits for his wife at home. A long time passes but his wife does not return. Li

begins to worry and decides to go out and look for her.

Scene 5

Kiat 吉, whose job is to castrate pigs, comes on. He complains that he has walked for a whole day without having any business. Then he passes the pandanus forest and finds the umbrella hanging on the tree. He takes it and then meets Li Sū. Li Sū recognized the umbrella and questions how Kiat has got it. After a short quarrel, Li considers his wife to have been murdered by this man and drags him to the law court.

Scene 6

In court, Li Sū accuses Kiat of murdering his wife. The District Magistrate of Changhua County interrogates Kiat. Kiat vehemently denies the charge, even after being tortured. The District Magistrate begins to doubt. He decides to investigate the case more carefully.

Scene 7

Sîng 成, a thief and a gambler, comes on. He describes himself to be a loyal and righteous thief. Kim's ghost comes on. She directs Sîng to the house of Li without showing herself, in order to let Sîng find the fact and report it to the official for her. Sîng hides in a corner of the house. Ông calls on Li to ask to divide up the spoils. Li pretends to agree. After Ông leaves, Li conceals the money in a dung tub. The scene is all before Sîng's eyes. He then steals the tub.

Scene 8

Sîng runs out of the house but immediately meets the District Magistrate and the Headquarters' Functionaries, who are investigating the murder case. Sîng is found by

the officials and the money in the tub is discovered as well. Sîng is then taken to court.

Scene 9

In court, the District Magistrate interrogates Sîng. Sîng reports that the money belongs to Kim and he knows the whole story. But before explaining, he asks the official to remit his punishment for his 152 burglaries. The official accepts. After Sîng's report, Li and Ông are brought to the court. The two women do not admit their offence. The official calls Sîng to confront them. Sîng asks the Headquarter's Functionaries to call him in a respectfully, "brother A-Sîng" (阿成兄), instead of "thief Sîng" (賊仔成), then he would agree to testify.

Under Sîng's testimony and after being tortured, the two women finally admit their guilt. They are ordered to be executed. Kiat is punished lightly for taking the umbrella and deceiving Li Sū. Li Sū thanks Sîng and wants to repay him. Sîng replies that he especially likes to stand up for others and does not need any repayment. The official also rewards him for his kind-heartedness.

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